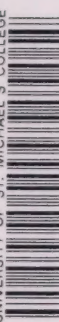



UNIVERSITY OF ST. MICHAEL'S COLLEGE



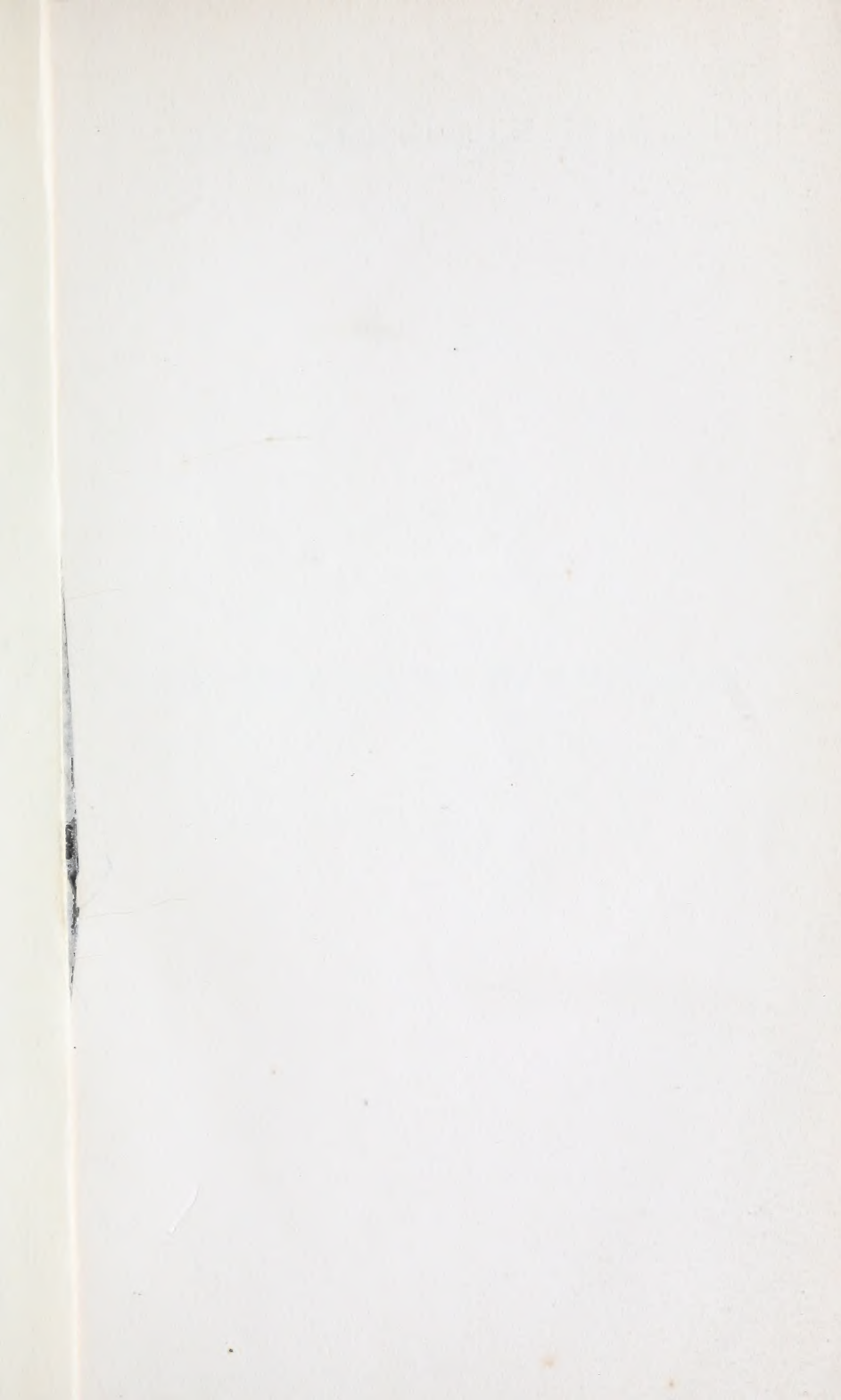
3 1761 01957171 0



Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2008 with funding from
Microsoft Corporation





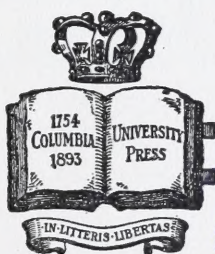


COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY GERMANIC STUDIES

GOETHE'S FAUST IN ENGLAND

THE RECEPTION OF GOETHE'S FAUST
IN ENGLAND
IN THE FIRST HALF OF THE
NINETEENTH CENTURY

BY
WILLIAM FREDERIC HAUHART, Ph.D.
Sometime University Fellow in German in Columbia University



New York
THE COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY PRESS

1909

All rights reserved

Copyright, 1909
BY THE COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY PRESS
Printed from type May, 1909

PRESS OF
THE NEW ERA PRINTING COMPANY
LANCASTER, PA.

NOTE

The scope of this study is well enough indicated by the author's introduction. Mr. Hauhart has attempted to describe the early reaction of the English mind on Goethe's "Faust," and to account for the nature of the reaction. The outline of the picture has long been familiar in a general way to specialists, but the details are here filled in with such care in the collection of data, and such insight in the handling of them, as to make the work a useful contribution to scholarship.

CALVIN THOMAS

FOREWORD

The purpose of this study is to show how far the British public, during the first half of the nineteenth century, got hold of and understood Goethe's "Faust" as Goethe meant it to be understood. It is, to be sure, largely a story of misconception and of prejudice, especially in the beginning. But that also is of interest and significance. For, as Erich Schmidt has said, in speaking of Goethe's "Faust" in England, "Auch das Unverständnis und das Missverständnis weckt ein historisches und völkerpsychologisches Interesse."¹

The criticisms in the magazines have been taken into consideration up to 1850. The translations of the First Part of "Faust" have been treated for the same period, including Miss Swanwick's, which was published in 1850. The author expects later to discuss elsewhere the English stage versions of Goethe's drama.

When this work was virtually completed, there was issued "Die englischen Übersetzungen von Goethes Faust," by Lina Baumann, Halle, 1907. Miss Baumann's publication and this study overlap only in the treatment of the translations of Hayward, Anster, and Miss Swanwick. In this thesis the translations that appeared during the period under consideration, constitute only a part of the entire problem to be discussed, equal stress being laid upon the English criticism by the magazine reviewers and by eminent literary men.

I wish to express my sincere gratitude to Professors W. H. Carpenter and Calvin Thomas, of Columbia University, for the kindly interest they have shown in the progress of my work. To Professor Thomas I am especially indebted for valuable criticism in the preparation of this thesis. I consider it a rare privilege to have been able to study Goethe's

¹ Cf. "Festschrift zur Begrüssung des 5. allgemeinen deutschen Neu-philologentags zu Berlin." Pfingsten, 1892. Herausgegeben von Julius Zupitza, p. 77.

masterpiece under his direction. I desire also to thank Professor Max Winkler, of the University of Michigan, for helpful suggestions; and Dr. W. E. Bohn, Mr. E. P. Kuhl, and Dr. A. O. Lee, of the University of Michigan, for assistance in reading the proofs.

CONTENTS

CHAPTER I

PAGE

INTRODUCTORY: GERMAN LITERATURE IN ENGLAND AT THE BEGINNING OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY	I
--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	---

CHAPTER II

"FAUST" CRITICISM IN THE ENGLISH MAGAZINES	18
------------------------------------------------------	----

CHAPTER III

THE ATTITUDE OF EMINENT LITERARY MEN OF ENGLAND TOWARD GOETHE'S "FAUST"	
----------------------------------------------------------------------------	--

1. Thomas Carlyle	52
2. Samuel Taylor Coleridge	63
3. Lord Byron	69
4. Walter Scott	74
5. Charles Lamb	76

CHAPTER IV

THEORY OF TRANSLATION

1. General Considerations	79
2. Difficulties of Translating "Faust"	83
3. Theories of Translation in England	88

CHAPTER V

TRANSLATIONS OF THE FIRST PART OF "FAUST" UP TO 1850

1. George Soane	92
2. Percy Bysshe Shelley	94
3. Lord Francis Leveson Gower	99
4. Abraham Hayward	104
5. Anonymous of 1834	112

	PAGE
6. David Syme	114
7. John Stuart Blackie	115
8. John Anster	121
9. Robert Talbot	124
10. Anonymous of 1838	125
11. Jonathan Birch	126
12. John Hills	127
13. Lewis Filmore	128
14. Sir George Lefèvre.....	129
15. Captain Knox	130
16. Miss Anna Swanwick	131

CHAPTER VI

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Translations of the First Part of "Faust"	136
2. Stage Plays and other Publications that show an interest in "Faust" and the Faust-theme in general	142
3. Translations and Criticisms of Part Second	144
4. General Bibliography	145

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTORY: GERMAN LITERATURE IN ENGLAND AT THE BEGINNING OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

The reception accorded to Goethe's "Faust" by the English was, in a measure, the result of their attitude toward German literature in general. It will be well, therefore, as an introduction to this study, to sketch in outline the vogue of the principal German authors in England at the beginning of the nineteenth century. The year 1790 is to be the point of departure. This is the year of the publication of "Faust. Ein Fragment." It represents also, approximately, the beginning of a decade of newly awakened interest in German letters in England.

Up to about 1790 not much was known of the Germans and their literature. They had not yet overcome the disrepute into which they had fallen during the Thirty Years' War. They had but recently begun to regain prestige for their arms, and thus indirectly also for their language. But this was a slow process, as many prominent Germans themselves were very backward in giving recognition to their own tongue. When eminent scholars published most of their writings in Latin and French, and Frederick the Great sat at the feet of Voltaire, it was hardly to be expected that German could gain much influence abroad. Then, too, the literature of Germany had a very slow development. For two centuries (1550-1750) no writings of great international importance had been produced. Not until the last half of the eighteenth century were works brought forth that could claim the attention of foreign nations.

The interest in German literature manifested in England before 1790 centered chiefly in the works of Wieland and Gessner, and in Goethe's "Werther." The English were attracted to Wieland by his wit and his easy, graceful style. His manner of writing approached that of the French, and the opinion of French literature and French style was very

high in England at that time. Wieland had, moreover, been strongly influenced by Sterne, and the English felt the kinship of his writings. More of his works were translated during this period than of any other German writer.¹ "Der geprüfte Abraham" was translated into English as early as 1764. His "Nachlass des Diogenes von Sinope" appeared in England in 1771. "Don Sylvio von Rosalva," in which Wieland imitated "Don Quixote," was translated in 1773. Of his more important works, "Agathon" appeared in English the same year.

Gessner was also much read prior to 1790.² His epic, "Abels Tod," was translated into English as early as 1761, three years after its publication in Germany. His "Idyls" were favorably reviewed in 1769,³ and from time to time the magazines published translations of some of them. Gessner was strongly under the spell of Thomson, and in turn made his influence felt in English literature. He found favor at once with literary and cultured men, and at the same time pleased the untutored intellect by his excessive sentiment and florid language. The pastoral and religious character of his works appealed strongly to the Englishmen of that day.

Of single German works, Goethe's "Werther" was most warmly received. Goethe was then known in England as the "Author of Werther." At times he was also called, "The famous author of Werther," or as Scott put it on the title page of his translation of "Götz," "The elegant author of Werther." This production of Goethe's storm and stress period had a powerful effect upon the English people. Its sentimentalism found favor with them. The women especially devoured it, and many an English maiden wept over its perusal. Goethe's Venetian Epigram, "England, freundlich empfindst du den zerrütteten Gast," without doubt refers to "Werther."⁴ The

¹ Cf. Haney, "German Literature in England before 1790," p. 9. Reprinted from *Americana Germanica*, Vol. IV, No. 2, p. 138.

² Cf. Bertha Read, "The Influence of Solomon Gessner upon English Literature." Philadelphia, 1905. Reprinted from *German American Annals*, Vol. III.

³ *Critical Review* (1769), Vol. XIV.

⁴ On the reception of "Werther" in England, see Appell, "Werther und seine Zeit," Oldenburg, 1896, p. 317. On its reception in France, see Baldensperger, "Goethe en France," Paris, 1904, p. 9.

French acted as mediators in introducing it to the English. It was first translated from a French version in 1779.⁵ The following decade witnessed two other translations and no less than eight imitations.

Schiller and Lessing received little attention from the English before 1790. The "Robbers" was destined to make itself felt across the Channel, but it was not translated before 1792. Lessing's important works had long been on the market, but the English showed little appreciation of them. It is true, his "Fables" were translated by Richardson in 1773; "Nathan" was poorly rendered in English prose by Erich Raspe in 1781, and an adaptation of "Minna von Barnhelm" was presented at the Haymarket Theater, July 3, 1786. But Lessing's great works of criticism were not recognized. Of his prime importance as a literary critic, the English had no conception.⁶

Thus, while a few of the German productions were well received the sentiment in favor of German literature was, upon the whole, of a very slow growth. Several reasons may be added to account for its tardy development.

First: An insufficient knowledge of the German language in England. Only a few of the merchants had taken the trouble to learn German, and they were prompted in this matter by their practical and commercial instincts. It was not considered necessary to know German as a means of culture.⁷

Second: The poor opinion of Germany and things German that prevailed in Europe in the eighteenth century. This prejudice was deep-seated, and affected not only the British, but other nations as well. One is reminded of Père Bouhours, who questioned whether a German could have *esprit*.

⁵ This probably accounts for the English title, "Sorrows of Werther," it being an imitation of the French: "Les Passions du jeune Werther."

⁶ Macaulay refers to the then standing of Lessing in England in his "Essay on Addison," of the year 1843, saying: "We suspect very few of the accomplished men who, 60 or 70 years ago, used to dine in Leicester Square with Sir Joshua, or at Streatham with Mrs. Thrale, had the slightest notion that Wieland was one of the first wits and poets, and Lessing, beyond all dispute, the first critic of Europe." "Essays," Vol. V, p. 340.

⁷ The *Edinburgh Review* said in 1813: "Thirty years ago there were probably in London as many Persian as German scholars." Vol. XXII, p. 201.

Third: In the eighteenth century French literature and French style were dominant in England. Unless a work came well recommended by way of the French, its chances for a favorable reception in England were small. The French were at times unjust in their criticisms of German literature, and their opinions naturally gained currency in England.⁸

Fourth: There is an essential difference in the character of the Germans and the English. John Stuart Blackie, who understood his own people and the Germans, has drawn this distinction in character very well, and shown its influence on the relations of the two peoples. He says: "The Englishman—and I include my brother, the Scot, here under the general name—is characteristically a man of action, not of contemplation. His habit of mind is constitutional rather than philosophical; his religion more ecclesiastical than spiritual, his statesmanship guided more by external expediency than by internal principle. He is a denouncer of sentiment, enthusiasm, which Napoleon called *ideology*."

"The German is the reverse of all this. He is cosmopolitan in his range, contemplative in his habit, and emotional in his temper. When two such opposite types come near enough to provoke a mutual estimate, they produce a clash: and in this way the English, who in their days of intellectual isolation—days yet fresh in the memory of living men—glorified in simply despising the Germans, now that the current of events has brought with it a general necessity of international recognition, too often make this recognition through an atmosphere of misconception and prejudice."⁹

A century or more ago, when international communication was comparatively limited, these characteristics stood out more boldly than they do to-day, and exercised a strong influence on literary intercourse.

⁸ Cf. Madame de Staël, "Why are the French unjust to German Literature?" "L'Allemagne," London, 1813, Vol. I, p. 211.

⁹ John Stuart Blackie, "The Wisdom of Goethe," London, 1883, Introduction, p. 14. Emerson, in discussing the character of the English after visiting England in 1833 and 1847, also spoke of the difficulties which the English had in understanding the Germans, saying: "The English cannot interpret the German mind." Cf. "English Traits," under head of "Literature."

Fifth: The great expense connected with printing and the duty on imported books hampered the introduction and study of German literature in England. The tariff on books became burdensome at the beginning of the nineteenth century, although they had been subject to duty all along. In 1711, £30 for every £100 of real value was imposed on books in addition to the regular duty. In 1713, this law was repealed by special act, "it having been found by experience to have tended to the discouragement of learning." In 1723, all *ad valorem* duties were taken from imported bound books, and instead, 14s the cwt. imposed. In 1787, imported books bound were taxed at 19s 3d the cwt. and unbound 8s 10d. The duty again became oppressive in 1803 when £4 were collected on each cwt. of bound books, and £3 on the unbound. In 1826, a law was passed authorizing a duty of £5 on books that were printed after 1801, and £1 on those printed prior to 1801. This law was in force until 1844, when the duty on works in a foreign language was reduced to 15s the cwt.¹⁰

There does not seem to have been much discussion of this question in literary circles until the third decade of the new century, when interest in foreign literature was again more active. Then the exorbitant duties on imported books seem to have been felt more keenly than before. In 1825, A. W. Schlegel speaks of them in his introduction to a London book-seller's catalogue, saying: "The addition to the price of German books caused by the duty of importation seems to offer a slight impediment to a wealthy nation. It presses severely, however, on literary intercourse."¹¹ The *London Magazine* also refers to this matter in the following terms: "One cause of this neglect of important works is undoubtedly the enormous expense of printing in this country, which deters publishers from risking their capital. While the Germans publish reprints and translations of the best English works at a fourth of the price that we pay for the originals, we cannot afford to do the same with theirs; and even those who understand the German language are not able to purchase as they would gladly do, on

¹⁰ Cf. "The Statutes of the United Kingdom" for the respective years.

¹¹ Introduction to the Catalog of J. H. Bothe, London, 1825. See also, "Kritische Schriften," Berlin, 1828, Erster Teil, pp. 1-15.

account of the high prices charged by the London booksellers, which are partly to be ascribed to the heavy duty on importations."¹²

Sixth: Before 1790 there were no competent mediators who appreciated the treasures of German literature and could introduce them effectively to their countrymen. A little later, to be sure, there were men like William Taylor of Norwich, Matthew Gregory Lewis, Henry Crabb Robinson, and Robert Pearse Gillies, who were all well versed in German and did much toward making German literature known in England. This paved the way for the mediations of Carlyle, whose activity began in 1822. As co-workers of Carlyle in this direction, Abraham Hayward and Mrs. Sarah Austin are to be mentioned.

It will be of interest to describe briefly the activity of the early interpreters of German literature before passing to the discussion of the last decade of the eighteenth century. First among these in point of time was William Taylor of Norwich (1765-1836). His work extended over the years 1790-1830, the year in which the last volume of his "Historic Survey of German Poetry" appeared.¹³ He wrote numerous articles on German literature for the magazines, which were later incorporated in the "Historic Survey," many of them in revised form. While he must be credited with much interest in German literature and an honest endeavor to bring it to the attention of his countrymen, many of his opinions show a large measure of obtuseness. Carlyle was irritated by Taylor's methods and criticised the "Historic Survey of German Poetry" severely.¹⁴

¹² *London Magazine* (1823), Vol. VIII, p. 210.

¹³ "Historic Survey of German Poetry, interspersed with various translations." By William Taylor of Norwich. 3 vols. London, 1830. Reviewed by the *Monthly Review* (1830), Vol. XV, p. 609 and (1828), Vol. IX, p. 543.

¹⁴ *Edinburgh Review*, March, 1831. Reprinted in "Essays," Vol. III, p. 283. That Carlyle's review was not entirely just, has been shown by Herzfeld in his study of Taylor's activity, p. 51. In general, Carlyle's criticism is well founded, however, as Taylor's recensions represented largely an obsolete point of view. Cf. "William Taylor of Norwich. Eine Studie über den Einfluss der neueren deutschen Literatur in England." By Geo. Herzfeld, Halle, 1897.

Matthew Gregory Lewis (1775-1818), commonly known as "Monk Lewis," on account of his novel, "The Monk," was a translator of German works. In 1792-3 he was in Germany and spent most of his time in Weimar, where he became acquainted with Goethe. His interest in German literature led in 1797 to the translation of Schiller's "Kabale und Liebe," which he published under the title: "The Minister." Lewis influenced Scott, Byron, and Shelley. In 1816 he was with Byron and Shelley in their Swiss retreat. Byron tells how Lewis interpreted German for him, especially "Faust." But it is not so much to Lewis's credit that he was one of the purveyors of the Kotzebue dramas. He wished to introduce into England what he conceived to be the prevailing German taste in fiction and in the drama. His selections included largely works of excessive sentiment and fantastic tendencies. He had a fancy for the terrible and the grotesque, as is evidenced by his own production, "The Monk."¹⁵

Henry Crabb Robinson (1775-1867) spent five years in Germany (1800-1805) and returned home with a full appreciation of German literature and philosophy. He wrote some magazine articles, but upon the whole, his activity in this direction was not very great. His services were of a more personal nature. He inspired those with whom he came in contact with an interest in German literature. His well-known ability as a talker gave him a wide circle of influence. When he was in Germany he endeavored to spread a knowledge of English literature. Goethe therefore called him a "missionary for English literature."¹⁶ In the same way he might have been called a missionary for German literature among the English. Robinson has left an interesting account of his varied activity in

¹⁵ "Life and Correspondence of M. G. Lewis," 2 vols. London, 1839. Scott touches on Lewis's work in his "Essay on the Imitations of the Ancient Ballad." See also, "Matthew Gregory Lewis, mit besonderer Berücksichtigung seines Romans, The Monk." By Max Rentsch, Leipzig, 1902.

¹⁶ "Briefwechsel zwischen Goethe und Zelter." Berlin, 1834, Vol. V, p. 280.

his diary, the important parts of which were published after his death.¹⁷

The work of Robert Pearse Gillies (1788-1858) consisted chiefly of translations from the German for the magazines. His *Horae Germanicae* in *Blackwood's Magazine* began in 1819.¹⁸ In 1821 he was in Germany and also visited Goethe. His main activity for German literature dates from this period. When he became editor of the *Foreign Quarterly Review* in 1827, his influence in extending a knowledge of things German increased. He has given a good account of his work and the literary life of his period in his "Memoirs of a Literary Veteran."¹⁹

Of the later mediators between German literature and the British public, only Mrs. Sarah Austin needs to be mentioned here, as Carlyle's work has been frequently treated and Hayward will be discussed among the translators of "Faust." Mrs. Sarah Austin was called by Macaulay "an interpreter between the mind of Germany and the mind of Britain."²⁰ In 1827 she went to Germany with her husband, a jurist, and lived for some time at Bonn. She acquired a thorough knowledge of German and a deep interest in the Germans and their literature. Her principal publication is her book on Goethe.²¹ It is based chiefly on Falk and von Müller. Her own criticisms are few, but they are sane throughout, and show excellent literary discrimination. Her other literary work consisted mainly of translations from the German. Like Robinson, she

¹⁷ "Diary, Reminiscences, and Correspondence of Henry Crabb Robinson." Edited by Thomas Sadler. 2 vols. Boston, 1870. See also, *Deutsche Rundschau*, Vol. C, p. 172.

¹⁸ All of the *Horae Germanicae* of *Blackwood's Magazine* are by Gillies, excepting on "Faust" and a tragedy by Fouqué. Cf. "Memoirs," Vol. II, p. 203.

¹⁹ "Memoirs of a Literary Veteran." 3 vols. London, 1851. Also "Personal Reminiscences of Constable and Gillies." By R. H. Stoddard, New York, 1876, and Zeiger, *Studien zur vergleichenden Literaturgeschichte*, Vol. I, p. 251.

²⁰ Macaulay's "Essay on von Ranke." "Essays," Vol. IV, p. 299.

²¹ "Characteristics of Goethe," London, 1833.

exerted a most potent influence by her conversations and her correspondence with eminent literary men.²²

We turn now to a consideration of the last decade of the eighteenth century. Interest in German literature and especially the German drama received a new impetus in the year 1788. On April 21, Henry Mackenzie, author of "The Man of Feeling," read an enthusiastic paper before the Royal Society of Edinburgh, giving an account of the German theater.²³ Again it was by way of the French that attention was attracted to the German drama. As a basis for his remarks, Mackenzie used the "Théâtre Allemand," a compilation of the most approved German plays, translated into French by MM. Friedel and De Bonneville.²⁴ He also referred to another collection by Juncker and Liebault.²⁵ The principal authors of these dramas were Goethe, Schiller, and Lessing. Goethe was represented by "Götz" and "Clavigo." Mackenzie paid especial attention to the "Robbers." He gave an appreciative account of the play, which he concluded by saying: "I have ventured this long and particular account of the tragedy in question, because it appears to me one of the most uncommon productions of untutored genius that modern times can boast. . . . If his (Schiller's) genius can accommodate itself to better subjects, and to a more regular conduct of the drama, no modern poet seems to possess powers so capable of bending the mind before him, of rousing its feelings by the elevation of his sentiments, or of thrilling them with the terrors of his imagination." His account of Goethe's "Götz" was also laudatory. Walter Scott, who was at this

²² "Memoirs of Sarah Austin," London, 1891. An instance of her missionary work for German literature is given by Thomas Moore in his "Diary," Vol. VI, p. 265, April, 1832. "Dined at Sterling's. . . . During dinner a good deal of talk with Mrs. Austin about German literature, her hobby. Mentioned a lovesong of Goethe's, and gave the literal English of it, etc." This was, "Meine Ruh ist hin," from "Faust."

²³ "Transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh," 1788, April 21.

²⁴ "Nouveau Théâtre Allemand." 12 vols. Paris, 1782-5.

²⁵ "Théâtre Allemand." Juncker and Liebault, 2 vols. Paris, 1782.

meeting, had his interest aroused; this led to the study of the German language and the translation of "Götz" in 1799.²⁶

What Mackenzie did for Scotland, was done for England by one E. Ash, who also discussed the collection of German dramas by Friedel and De Bonneville in 1790 in *Drake's Speculator*.²⁷ In a series of articles he called the attention of the English to the dramas of Goethe, Schiller, and Lessing. Like Mackenzie, he admired in them their titanic energy and their naturalness, as opposed to the artificiality of the French drama. Ash rated Goethe higher than did Mackenzie. He was especially pleased with Goethe's female characters. To Mackenzie, Lessing was the greatest German dramatist, probably on account of his regard for the dramatic unities. Upon the whole, however, they agreed in their estimate of the German drama. They had very likely both been influenced in their opinions by the introduction of Friedel and De Bonneville.

The paper by Mackenzie and the essays by Ash were widely read and discussed.²⁸ They mark the beginning of a decade of enthusiasm for German literature in England. France was at that time in the throes of her Revolution. This hampered communication between the two countries and favored English intercourse with Germany. The *Monthly Review* remarks on this point:²⁹ "The French Revolution had hermetically sealed the Gauls against the English, and the travels and literary researches of our countrymen were in a manner forced into Germany and made us better acquainted with her literature."

It was unfortunate that this newly awakened interest was not fostered by the best works of German genius. The English were much attracted by the sentimentalism of the dramas of Kotzebue and Iffland, chiefly those of the former. Hasty translations of his more hastily written dramas were made, and

²⁶ Scott tells of this himself in his "Essay on the Imitations of the Ancient Ballad." His translation of "Götz" is reviewed by the *Critical Review* (1799), Vol. XXVI, p. 429, and by the *Monthly Review* (1799), Vol. XXIX, p. 222.

²⁷ Cf. Brandl, *Goethe-Jahrbuch*, Vol. III, p. 39.

²⁸ See, for example, *Edinburgh Magazine* (1790), Vol. XI, p. 379, and Vol. XII, p. 193. Also, *Monthly Review* (1791), Vol. IV, p. 415.

²⁹ *Monthly Review* (1827), Vol. VI, p. 268.

produced a sensational success on the English stage. His fame in England rapidly increased, and in the years 1798-9, he stood at the height of his glory. He is first mentioned by the *Monthly Review* in 1796.³⁰ At the close of the century there are discussed in one volume of this magazine as many as nine of his plays.³¹

Men like Henry Crabb Robinson, who had an appreciation for the best in German literature, became impatient with their countrymen for their admiration of the ephemeral productions of Kotzebue. No wonder that Robinson wrote from Germany in a letter to the *Monthly Register and Encyclopedian Magazine*: "I have for the present but one observation. You know nothing about German literature. Kotzebue's and Iffland's plays are not German literature. Though popular German works, they are not considered classical here."³²

So great was the enthusiasm for Kotzebue that the works of Goethe and Schiller were for the time being almost eclipsed.³³ Nevertheless both made gains during this decade after the recognition they had received by Mackenzie and Ash. Goethe continued to be popular as the "Author of Werther," but "Götz" was now considered his best work. "Iphigenie" was translated in 1795 by William Taylor of Norwich and "Stella" and "Clavigo" appeared in anonymous translations in 1798.

Schiller was in greater favor during this period than Goethe. His early plays, especially the "Robbers" continued to receive much attention. In 1792 it was translated by Alexander Fraser Tytler. A second edition appeared in 1795 and a fourth edition in 1800.³⁴ "Kabale und Liebe" was translated in 1795, and again in 1797 by Monk Lewis. It was produced as the "Harper's Daughter" at the Covent Garden Theater, May 4,

³⁰ *Monthly Review* (1796), Vol. XX, p. 543.

³¹ *Monthly Review*, Vols. XXVIII and XXIX. See also, *Critical Review*, Vol. XXVIII.

³² Vol. I, p. 397.

³³ Sellier, "Kotzebue in England." Diss. Leipzig, 1901, and E. Köppel, *Englische Studien*, Vol. XIII, p. 530. Also, Bahlens, *Archiv*, Vol. LXXXI, p. 353.

³⁴ Another translation of the "Robbers" by R. M. Wender was published in 1799. The same year also witnessed a translation of the "Bühnenaussage," and another version appeared in "Thompson's Theater" in 1800.

1803. "Fiesco" appeared in English in 1796 and "Don Carlos" in 1798. In 1800 Coleridge published his translation of "Wallenstein."³⁵ The magazines took note of the English attitude toward Schiller. In 1795 the *Monthly Review* said: "Friedrich Schiller is by this time a popular writer with the British."³⁶ The *Critical Review* remarked in a similar strain: "The plays of Schiller have attained a celebrity which far exceeds their merits, and which cannot be permanent."³⁷

The introduction of Bürger's "Lenore," which exercised a strong influence in England, took place in this decade. It fell in with some phases of the English Romantic Movement. The first translation was made by William Taylor of Norwich in 1790, although it was not published until 1796. Walter Scott also translated it in 1796 with one other of Bürger's ballads, the two constituting his first published volume. "Lenore" at once took hold of the popular imagination, evidence of its popularity being the numerous other translations and parodies.³⁸

While both Goethe and Schiller found public favor, their plays were rarely performed in the theaters, because the English stage was occupied by the dramas of Kotzebue. At the close of the century he was in the heyday of his success. But a reaction was soon to set in, and instead of helping the cause of German literature, he injured it. Along with his works, the entire German drama was condemned. A period of apathy ensued, dating approximately from the beginning of the century.

There were also other influences that assisted in bringing about this reaction. Literary satires and parodies flourished in England at this time. Anything that was objectionable in literature was mercilessly satirized and held up to public ridicule. In 1798, there appeared a parody on Schiller's "Robbers" and Goethe's "Stella" in the *Anti-Jacobin*, entitled, "The Rovers." The plot, as stated in the introduction, is

³⁵ The translation by Coleridge is reviewed in the *Critical Review* (1800), Vol. XXX, p. 175.

³⁶ *Monthly Review* (1795), Vol. XVIII, p. 346.

³⁷ *Critical Review* (1798), Vol. XXII, p. 103.

³⁸ On Bürger's "Lenore" in England, see, Alois Brandl, in "Charakteristiken," by Erich Schmidt, Berlin, 1886, p. 244.

formed by the combination of the plots of two of the most popular German plays. A number of scenes in the parody bear a resemblance to incidents in Goethe's "Stella," but there is very little in it that reminds one of the "Robbers," except the title. It may be gathered that it was the intention also to ridicule "Kabale und Liebe" and Kotzebue's "Menschenhass und Reue."³⁹ This caricature did its part to bring the German drama into disrepute. Canning and Frere, the authors, were workers on the *Anti-Jacobin, or Weekly Examiner*, which was inimical to German literature. This magazine, which was founded in November, 1797, was the organ of the Conservative party in England. It was begun with the express purpose of combating everything that was liberal in politics and literature. Since the German drama of the Storm and Stress stood for opposition to absolutism, and glorified the freedom of the individual, it was attacked by the Anti-Jacobins.

Another parody, probably an imitation of the "Rovers," was published in the magazine, *The Meteors*, in 1799-1800.⁴⁰ It was called: "The Benevolent Cutthroat," by Klotzboggenhagen (translated by Fabius Pictor). It was preceded by an introduction called: "A Prologue for any German Play." In this prologue reference was made to the "Robbers" as follows:

Despising rigid rules the German Muse
Prepares whate'er she thinks you'll not refuse;
Is there a dismal act appears too long?
Its close is sweetened with a soothing song,⁴¹
And in the mirthful scenes the jokes advance
Progressively till finished with a dance.

* * * * *

What character by sportive nature formed
But has some well-wrought German play adorned!
Robbers of gentle manners and polite
Teach you to steal and prove 'tis just and right.

³⁹ The "Rovers" has been republished in Vol. VI of the "Carisbroke Library," edited by Henry Morley. London, 1890, p. 282.

⁴⁰ Cf. Rhea, *Studien zur vergleichenden Literaturgeschichte, Ergänzungshefte*, Vol. V, p. 167.

⁴¹ Songs of Amalia.

While it is clear from this quotation that the "Robbers" is aimed at in this parody, the text itself shows no similarity whatever to Schiller's drama. It consists of a series of extravagances quite foreign to the plot of Schiller's play.

These publications appeared in London, but in other parts of Britain voices were also raised in opposition to the German drama. In 1802 William Preston read a paper before the Royal Irish Academy, entitled: "Reflections on the Peculiarities of Style and Manner of the late German Writers whose Works have appeared in English and on the Tendency of Their Productions."⁴² This article pointed out the weakness of the dramas of Kotzebue in a forcible way. Goethe and Schiller also came in for a share of Preston's criticism. Goethe was called the dramatic father of Schiller and the "great patriarch of the terrible and ferocious school." It was said that he established the "reign of terror and blood" by his "Goss (*sic*) with the Iron Hand." Preston regarded the admiration that had been bestowed upon German literature as an indication of the decline of true taste and sound morality. The magazines took up this article for discussion.⁴³ Its importance as emanating from one of the learned societies, gave it widespread publicity.

Thus the sentiment against German literature grew. The magazines that had given so much attention to Kotzebue now came out in opposition to his plays. In 1801 the *Monthly Review*, in reviewing one of his biographies, spoke lightly of his dramas: "We pass over the attempt to defend the author's dramatic works, which we conceive to be of little importance, as the public has already formed its decisive judgment concerning them."⁴⁴ If the English had put Kotzebue aside for the

⁴² "Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy," Vol. VIII, pp. 15-79.

⁴³ *Monthly Review* (1803), Vol. XLI, p. 194, and *Critical Review* (1804), p. 612.

⁴⁴ Cf. *Monthly Review* (1801), Vol. XXXIV, p. 78. It should be noted, however, that Kotzebue by no means ceased to interest the English at the end of the century. As late as 1830, William Taylor of Norwich said in his "Historic Survey of German Poetry," Vol. III, p. 102: "According to my judgment, Kotzebue is the greatest dramatic genius that Europe has evolved since Shakespeare." Cf. also, the *Monthly Review* of 1821, Vol. XCV, p. 448: "It will probably be admitted that Kotzebue is the greatest dramatist of the Germans and one of the ornaments of Europe."

better productions of the German Muse, it would have been well, but for more than a decade of the new century they were almost indifferent to all German writers.

During this period of apathy literary intercourse was further hampered by the Napoleonic Wars. Communication was entirely cut off at times and at others possible only under the most trying circumstances. The *Critical Review* touched on this matter apropos of a discussion of Wieland's works in 1809: "Our communication with the continent has been so much interrupted of late that we can only now continue the account of the new edition of Wieland's works."⁴⁵ Napoleon endeavored to realize, as A. W. Schlegel says, by the continental system, the language of the ancient poet, *Toto divisos orbe Britannos*.⁴⁶ At the conclusion of peace in 1815, this difficulty was removed, but some years passed before a normal literary intercourse was restored.

There was one influence that again brought Germany and the Germans, as well as their literature, vividly before the minds of the Englishmen, and that was the appearance of Madame de Staël's book on "Germany" in an English translation in 1813.⁴⁷ As the book was suppressed by the French police, it aroused much attention in England. Its effect in reviving interest in German literature was marked. Madame de Staël's opinions were received with much respect by the English. As late as 1835 the *Quarterly Review* speaks as follows of their reverence for the views of Madame de Staël: "We believe that the two nations, France and England, look equally to Madame de Staël as their principal authority on all matters connected with the *belles lettres* and philosophy of Germany."⁴⁸

Carlyle himself, as a writer in the *Grenzboten* testifies, first had his curiosity for things German aroused by this work. "Dass dieses Buch ihn (Carlyle) mit respektvoller Neugier nach den literarischen Schätzen der Deutschen erfüllt, und

⁴⁵ *Critical Review* (1809), Vol. XVII, p. 517.

⁴⁶ "Kritische Schriften," Erster Teil, Berlin, 1828, p. 9.

⁴⁷ "Germany," by the Baroness von Holstein. Translated from the French. In 3 vols. London 1813. A French edition was also printed in London the same year.

⁴⁸ *Quarterly Review* (1835), Vol. LIII, p. 216.

zur sauren Erlernung der deutschen Sprache veranlasst habe, weiss ich aus Carlyles eignem Munde."⁴⁹ Carlyle also refers to the influence of Madame de Staël's work in his translation of Jean Paul's review of that book, saying: "The work indeed, which, with all its vagueness and manifold shortcomings, must be regarded as the precursor, if not parent, of whatever acquaintance with German literature exists among us."⁵⁰ It is finally of interest to note what Goethe had to say about Madame de Staël's work in the "Annalen": "That work on Germany which owed its origin to such social conversations, must be looked on as a mighty implement, whereby, in the Chinese wall of antiquated prejudices which divides us from France, a broad gap was broken; so that across the Rhine, and in consequence of this, across the Channel, our neighbors at last took closer knowledge of us; and now the whole remote West is open to our influence."⁵¹

In 1815 A. W. Schlegel's "Lectures on Dramatic Art" were translated into English.⁵² They were well known on the continent and were favorably received by the English, thus also exerting an influence in bringing German literature to their attention. The last, or fifteenth chapter, is devoted to the "Drama of Germany." The English translator comments in his preface on the boldness with which Schlegel attacked dramatic rules that the French considered sacred, and the severity with which he criticized French works. But he adds: "It will be no disadvantage to him in our eyes that he has been unsparing in his attack on the literature of our enemies." One sees that international prejudices affected the literary intercourse of the European nations.

Another influence that came into play in the early decades of the new century was the founding of three important maga-

⁴⁹ *Grenzboten* (1869), Vol. XXVIII, p. 295.

⁵⁰ *Fraser's Magazine* (1830), Vol. I, p. 28. Also, "Essays," Vol. II, p. 363.

⁵¹ Translation by Carlyle in "Schiller, Goethe, and De Staël." "Essays," Vol. II, p. 405. Cf. also Goethe's "Annalen" of 1804, "Werke, Jubiläums-Ausgabe," Vol. XXX, p. 134.

⁵² "A Course of Lectures on Dramatic Art and Literature," by A. W. Schlegel. Translated from the original by John Black. In 2 vols. London, Edinburgh, and Dublin, 1815.

zines, the *Edinburgh Review* in 1802; the *Quarterly Review* in 1809; and *Blackwood's Magazine* in 1817. These three magazines, with the *Monthly and Critical Reviews*, of older date, were important factors in literary criticism. At times, to be sure, they were not entirely unprejudiced in their reviews of literature, both German and English.⁵³ Generally speaking, however, these magazines were favorable to German literature and did much to bring it prominently before the public in book reviews and original articles. By the various means that have been enumerated, the interest in German literature was revived and increased, reaching its height under the leadership of Carlyle.

⁵³ The *Monthly Review*, in January, 1817, p. 22, called Coleridge's "Christabel," "rude, unfashioned stuff." See also, *Edinburgh Review*, Sept. 1816, pp. 58-67. Byron retaliated for unjust criticism in "English Bards and Scotch Reviewers."

CHAPTER II

"FAUST" CRITICISM IN ENGLISH MAGAZINES

"Faust. Ein Fragment" appeared in 1790. Most of it had been written by Goethe in the years 1773-1775. After settling in Weimar, in 1775, he was wont occasionally to give readings from his "Faust." Fräulein von Göchhausen, one of the maids-of-honor at the Weimar court, procured the manuscript from Goethe upon one of these occasions, and made a copy of it. This was safely handed down in the family archives, where it was discovered by Erich Schmidt in 1887, who at once published it. It represents, generally speaking, what Goethe had completed of his plan by 1775, and is usually referred to as the "Urfaust."¹

During the next decade Goethe was busy with other matters and no attention was given to "Faust." In 1786 he took his manuscript with him to Italy, but nothing was done upon it until shortly before his return to Weimar in 1788. He was prompted to take up "Faust" again by the plan of publishing a complete edition of his works.² He probably wished to finish as much for publication as there is now in the completed First Part. At any rate, he made a plan for its continuation before leaving Italy, and wrote one scene—the Witch's Kitchen. When he returned to Weimar, the preparation of all his writings for immediate publication gave him little time for concentration upon "Faust." He therefore decided as early as July, 1789, not to attempt its completion, but to publish it as a fragment, and as such it appeared at Easter, 1790, in the seventh volume of his works.³ It should be noted that, while the "Fragment" contains considerable matter not in the "Urfaust,"

¹ "Goethes Faust in ursprünglicher Gestalt nach der Göchhausenschen Abschrift," herausgegeben von Erich Schmidt. 6. Abdruck. Weimar, 1905.

² Minor, "Goethes Faust," Vol. I, p. 283.

³ The "Fragment" has been republished in convenient form in "Seufferts Literaturdenkmale des 18. Jahrhunderts." Heilbronn, 1882. Another edition has been published by W. Holland, Freiburg, 1882.

Goethe also withheld parts of the "Urfaust" from the "Fragment."

An idea of what the "Fragment" contains and what it does not contain is best obtained by comparing it with the completed First Part, published in 1808. In length it is about half of Part First. It begins with Faust's first monologue: "Habe nun, ach! Philosophie," etc., and closes with the Cathedral Scene, including, therefore, the Earth Spirit Scene, the first conversation with Wagner, the Student Scene, Auerbach's Cellar, the Witch's Kitchen, and the whole Gretchen Tragedy, with the exception of the last, or Dungeon, scene, which was in prose in the "Urfaust," and was withheld from the "Fragment." The scene, Forest and Cavern, was inserted between the scene, At the Well, and the Mater Dolorosa, instead of being given the place it later received, before Gretchen's monologue, "Meine Ruh ist hin." Faust's second monologue, the Easter holiday scene, the completed Valentine scene, the Walpurgis-Night and Intermezzo, the Dedication, the Prelude, and the Prologue were not published until 1808. Stated exactly, the following lines of Part First are found in the "Fragment": 354-597; 602-605; 1770-2365; 2378-2389; 2394-3148; 3153-3216; 3374-3586; 3217-3373; 3587-3619; 3776-3788; 3790-3834.

The fragmentary character of the "Faust" of 1790 was a barrier to its appreciation. It was received but indifferently by the German public. The interest with which its appearance had been looked forward to in the seventies, was cooled by the years of its delay, and when it did appear in 1790 other events occupied the public mind. Men like Schiller and the Schlegel brothers naturally saw more in it than the Germans at large. In writing to Goethe, November 29, 1794, Schiller called the "Fragment" "Der Torso des Herkules," and expressed his admiration of the power and wealth of genius shown in these scenes. A. W. Schlegel called the plan of "Faust" "unique, not to be compared, either with one of Goethe's other works, or with the dramas of any other poet."⁴ Friedrich Schlegel

⁴A. W. Schlegel, "Werke," Vol. X, p. 17. See also, Minor, "Faust," Vol. I, p. 296.

said that this fragment was to be classed among the greatest works that the mind of man had produced.⁵ An anonymous review of the *Neue Nürnbergische Gelehrte Zeitung* of 1790 was also quite favorable. It stated that if the continuation of any work had ever been looked forward to with intense interest, this was certainly the case with "Faust."⁶ The reviews of eminent literary men were favorable, but in general Goethe's purpose was not understood. The "Fragment" offered no solution of the problems suggested by it, and no one knew what the completed "Faust" was going to be like.

And Goethe intended to complete it, but found it harder now than ever to return to the subject. Schiller, with whom he formed a bond of friendship in 1794, and who valued the "Fragment" so highly, urged him on by gentle persuasion to a continuation of the work.⁷ During the last years of the century, Goethe then reverted to "Faust," and in June, 1797, he looked up the plan he had made while in Italy and on this basis proceeded with the work. It is known that he was busy with "Faust" in 1800, and according to Schiller's letter of September 13 of that year, the bipartition of the poem had now been decided upon. For a number of years after this not much was accomplished. Again it was the plan to publish a complete edition of his works that gave Goethe the impulse to continue "Faust."⁸ In March, 1806, he began a revision of the manuscript, assisted by Riemer, and in April it was sent to Cotta, the publisher. But on account of the political troubles in Germany it was not printed until 1808. It appeared in volume eight of the first Cotta edition of Goethe's works. The title was: "Faust, eine Tragödie." After the Prologue in Heaven there was another title: "Der Tragödie Erster Teil." This meant that the Prelude and the Prologue were to apply to both parts of "Faust." Goethe thus clearly apprised the public

⁵ *Athenæum*, Vol. III, p. 174. Also, Braun, "Goethe und Schiller im Urtheile der Zeitgenossen." Berlin, 1884, Vol. II, p. 235. Schelling also expressed a very favorable opinion of the "Fragment" in 1803. Cf. Witkowski, "Faust," Kommentar, Introduction, p. 5.

⁶ Braun, Vol. II, p. 81.

⁷ Minor, "Faust," Vol. II, pp. 1 and 9.

⁸ Minor, "Faust," Vol. II, p. 16.

that his plan was by no means completed, and that a second part was to follow.

We turn now to the reception of the "Fragment" and the First Part in England. The literary conditions which obtained there at that time were such as to favor their introduction. In 1790, when the "Fragment" appeared, the interest in German literature had just received a new impetus. The rise of Romanticism, which reached its culmination in England in the early years of the new century, would also seem to have favored the introduction of a work like "Faust." The English were quite generally familiar with the Faust-legend. The chap-book, published in Germany in 1587, was translated into English before February 28, 1859.⁹ Many editions of the same appeared in the following centuries. The theme was further kept alive by Marlowe's "Faustus" and by the numerous pantomimes and puppet plays which flourished especially in the first part of the eighteenth century.¹⁰ Goethe was well-known in England as the author of "Werther" and of "Götz," and it was to be expected that another work by him under the name of "Faust" would attract general attention.

But notwithstanding these apparently favorable conditions, the "Fragment" was barely mentioned in England, and when Part First appeared in 1808, it was misconstrued and misunderstood. Naturally, the fact that the "Faust" of 1790 appeared as a fragment was the chief obstacle to its appreciation in England as well as in Germany. It lacked coherence and had no catastrophe. Goethe had kept his full plan in abeyance, and no one knew what the final outcome would be. The Faust-saga which the people knew, led them to expect a tragedy of sin and damnation such as Marlowe had written. What they actually found in the "Fragment" was a discontented pro-

⁹ Cf. Zarncke, *Anglia*, Vol. IX, p. 610.

¹⁰ On this subject the *Quarterly Review* said in 1814: "This personage, who was a professor at Wittenberg, and is known to the learned as a competitor for the honor of having first invented printing, is familiar to the children of England as well as of Germany under the name of Dr. Faustus; and his alliance with the Devil was, in the time of our parents, a conspicuous feature in almost every puppet show. *Quarterly Review* (1814), Vol. X, p. 390. See also, Diebler, "Faust und Wagner Pantomimen in England." *Anglia*, Vol. VII, p. 341-354.

fessor turning libertine, seducing a young girl and bringing upon her ruin and disgrace. No punishment was meted out to the offender, which made it all the more difficult to understand Goethe. When the First Part appeared, in 1808, Goethe indicated by the Prologue, as has been mentioned, that his drama was by no means complete, and that the solution of the moral problem was yet to come. But few people understood or paid any attention to the Prologue and continued in their erroneous preconceptions.

While the fragmentary character of the "Faust" of 1790 and the disregard of the Prologue of 1808, account in large measure for the misinterpretation of Goethe's "Faust," there are also other things to be taken into consideration in judging the attitude of the English people. Among these are the views of art which prevailed in England at that time. Esthetic education was lacking, and it was the common practice to confuse the province of ethics and esthetics.¹¹ There was a strong tendency to moralize in judging a work of art. English critics sometimes disapproved of German literature as being immoral, apparently thinking that moral truth and beauty could be violated in a thoroughly artistic production. To them the Germans appeared deficient in taste. "They proposed," as Carlyle said, "to school the Germans in the Alphabet of taste who were already busy with their accidence."¹² While discussing German literature the English seemingly lost sight of the fact, that from their standpoint there would be much to criticize in their own Shakespeare and Congreve, for example. This attitude represents a tendency of the times in England which had

¹¹ Cf. Mrs. Sarah Austin, "Characteristics of Goethe," London, 1833, p. xxiii.

¹² "State of German Literature." "Essays," Vol. I, p. 60. The *Edinburgh Review* refers to this attitude of the English as follows: "It happened rather whimsically that we now (at the beginning of the nineteenth century) began to throw out the same reproaches against other nations which the French had directed against us in the beginning of the eighteenth century. We were then charged by our polite neighbors with the vulgarity and turbulence of rebellious upstarts, who held nothing sacred in religion, or stable in government; and whom no king could govern or God could please, and whose coarse and barbarous literature could excite only the ridicule of cultivated nations." Vol. XXII, p. 201.

crept into literary criticism.¹³ From the unlimited freedom and the unshackled attitude toward questions of morals, characteristic of the Restoration, opinion on this subject had swung back to the other extreme in the latter part of the eighteenth century, and now the English felt it their duty to school the Germans in the matter of morality and taste in literature.

The theological tendencies of the day also affected the attitude of the English critics toward "Faust." The chief question at that time seems to have centered in the fate of man in the world to come. Nowadays interest is thrown largely upon the altruistic activity of man in this world. While Goethe belonged to the latter part of the eighteenth century, he anticipated in many respects the thought of the twentieth century. In his "Faust," stress is laid upon the development of the character of his hero in this life. Some of the English critics devote much discussion to the question of the final disposition of Goethe's hero. In reviewing Part First, where it is not entirely clear from the last scene, if one disregards the Prologue, what becomes of Faust, a great deal of speculation turns upon the question as to whether Goethe meant to save his hero or not; and in reviewing Part Second, the issue is raised whether Faust should have been saved at all, without doing penance in the orthodox way.

Another difficulty with the English was that they could not fully understand and appreciate Goethe, the poet, the artist, and the critic of life, as he is found in all of his works. That is what Carlyle meant when he said in his "Hero Worship" that in England the appreciation of Goethe would be left to

¹³ Literary criticism stood on a low level in England at that time. William Ellery Channing spoke of this in 1823, saying: "In England there is a great want of philosophy in the true sense of the word. If we examine her reviews, in which much of the intellectual power of the nation is expended, we meet perpetually a jargon of criticism, which shows a singular want of great and general principles in estimating works of art." "Works," Boston, 1853. Vol. I, p. 276. Madame de Staël depicts a character, Oswald, in her book, "Corinne ou L'Italie," who represents the national prejudices of England. He has no appreciation of art. He judges it by standards of religion and morality. He is prone to be offended and understands nothing. Cf. Brandes, "Main Currents in Nineteenth Century Literature," Vol. I, p. 145. English translation, London, 1901.

future generations. That the greater number of English critics have all along failed of a full understanding of Goethe, and withheld part of the admiration that is justly due him, was quite recently again brought out by a writer in the *Quarterly Review*.¹⁴

During the period under consideration the English had received Goethe's works in part with favor. They were strongly under the influence of his "Werther"; they admired the dramatic power of his "Götz," and the classic beauty of "Iphigenie," but in "Faust" there was presented to them a work which was so distinctively German, and so unusual in conception and execution, that they did not know what to make of it. They were attracted by the undoubted beauty and sublimity of many of its scenes, and repelled when they dwelt on its irregularities. They saw on one page the Miltonic harmony of the strains of Raphael and Gabriel, and on another the jabber of fiends and sorcerers. It seemed to be a wanton mixture of the grand and the grotesque. The simplest language of everyday life was found side by side with the noblest strains of lyric poetry. The English found it difficult to follow Goethe in these poetic musings. Hence it was that only some of the greater Englishmen, who were themselves artists and felt their kinship with Goethe, appreciated the real merits of his greatest work. For many years to come, "Faust" was to remain "*caviare* to the general."

The "Fragment" was mentioned only once in England so far as the writer has been able to ascertain.¹⁵ The *Monthly Review* referred to it apropos of a discussion of Goethe's "Stella" in 1798, which had been translated that year. It stated: "In his 'Faustus' he has not feared to enter the precincts of the invisible world."¹⁶ It is impossible to judge from this reference whether the reviewer had studied the "Fragment" or not. It would seem to indicate, however, that he considers his readers to be sufficiently familiar with it to understand this general reference. It is to be remembered that a

¹⁴ *Quarterly Review*, April, 1907, p. 481.

¹⁵ I mean before the appearance of the First Part.

¹⁶ *Monthly Review* (1798), Vol. XXVI, p. 580.

period of indifference toward German literature began with the new century. This will explain the absence of any further criticism of the "Fragment."

The first extended notice of "Faust" was a discussion of "Der Tragödie Erster Teil" in 1810 by the *Monthly Review*.¹⁷ It is generally supposed to have been written by William Taylor of Norwich.¹⁸ He called "Faust," "an uncouth though fanciful mixture of farce and tragedy, of profaneness and morality, of vulgarity and beauty, of obscenity and feeling. . . . Who can refrain from grief on receiving such trash from the Goethe who in his "Iphigenie in Tauris" approached nearest of all the moderns to becoming the rival of Sophocles?"¹⁹ The reviewer referred to the Prologue, saying that it is an imitation of the proem of the book of Job, but he failed to see its significance with regard to Goethe's plan and purpose. It is to be noted, however, that he did not, like later critics, call this scene profane, on account of its representation of the Deity.

Taylor gave a brief outline of the drama and translated the Cathedral Scene in prose. His analysis was not always correct. Thus, for example, he said that Faust is charged "with obtaining jewelry under false pretenses, with swindling the tavern keepers, and with cheating his guests at cards," etc. In the end, according to the reviewer, both Faust and Margaret are condemned to execution; the Devil is not permitted to carry into perdition the soul of Margaret, "but the spectator learns that he hurries off with that of Faustus."²⁰ Evidently, he had

¹⁷ *Monthly Review* (1810), LXII, p. 491.

¹⁸ Cf. R. G. Alford, "Goethe's Earliest Critics in England," "Transactions of the English Goethe Society," 1891-1892. Also Herzfeld, "William Taylor of Norwich," p. 46. Herzfeld, however, does not discuss Taylor's "Faust" critique.

¹⁹ Taylor translated "Iphigenie" in 1793.

²⁰ The English were accustomed to use the form Faustus instead of Faust. This, I think, is due to the fact that Marlowe called his hero Faustus. Even some of the English translators used the form Faustus. Most notable among these was Anster. Gräf (p. 318) discusses the assertion of Anster that Goethe was in the habit in conversation of calling his hero Faustus. Gräf thinks that if Goethe used this form, he did so only with Englishmen in respect to their home custom. Goethe used the form Faustus at least once in one of his Xenien. (Quoted by Pniower, "Faust," p. 290, and Gräf, p. 317.) The translators of Madame de Staël's "L'Allemagne" and Schlegel's "Vorlesungen über dramatische Kunst und Literatur" also used Faustus, while in both originals one finds Faust.

not read or did not understand Goethe, and was led to expect the damnation of Faust by his knowledge of the saga.

However blind the reviewer was to the real merits of "Faust" as a whole, he did not fail to see the poetic power of some of the scenes. He was attracted especially by the Walpurgis-Night and the Dungeon Scene. Of the former he says: "This scene of enchantment is described with a force of imagination and a truth of psychology which aspire to vie with Shakespeare." In conclusion he summed up: "On the whole the absurdities of the piece are so numerous, the obscenities are so frequent, the profaneness is so gross, and the beauties are so exclusively adapted to German relish, that we cannot conscientiously recommend its importation and still less the translation of it to our English students of German literature."

A more prejudiced review of any literary production can hardly be imagined.²¹ But the reviewer was not only biased, he was also superficial. His analysis shows the shallowness of his study and how little he entered into the spirit of Goethe's poem. That it has beauties, he did not deny, but with the true English provincialism of his day, he pronounced these beauties "exclusively adapted for German relish." This scathing review was sufficient to deter others from giving any attention to "Faust" for years to come. The reviewer discouraged the translation of it, and another decade elapsed before any attempt was made in this direction. It is worth noting that Taylor did not republish this review unmodified in his "Historic Survey of German Poetry" in 1830.²² "Faust" had then, to some extent at least, gained a hold on the English people, and such a review would have appeared ridiculous.

No further notice seems to have been taken of Goethe's "Faust" until the appearance of Madame de Staël's "L'Allemagne" in 1813.²³ She gave a spirited account of "Faust" which aroused new interest. She found much to admire in it, but her admiration was not unconditional. As she was still an

²¹ Herzfeld thinks that Taylor had a grudge against Goethe because the latter did not recognize the receipt of Taylor's translation of "Iphigenie."

²² William Taylor of Norwich," p. 26.

²³ Cf. "Historic Survey of German Poetry," Vol. III, p. 323.

²⁴ Vol. II, Chapter 23.

adherent of the French classical school, the irregularities of "Faust" did not please her. To her, "Egmont" was the greatest of German dramas. In that she did not find the loose dramatic structure which is so evident in "Faust." She said: "Goethe has subjected himself to rules of no description whatever in this composition; it is neither tragedy nor romance. Its author abjured every sober method of thinking and writing."

Madame de Staël mistook Mephistopheles for the hero of the drama. "The Devil," she said, "is the hero of this piece; the author has not conceived him like a hideous phantom, such as he is usually represented to the children; he has made him the evil Being *par excellence*. . . . Goethe wished to display in this character, at once real and fanciful, the bitterest pleasantry that contempt can inspire, and at the same time an audacious gayety that amuses. There is an infernal irony in the discourses of Mephistopheles, which extends itself to the whole creation, and criticizes the Universe like a bad book of which the Devil has made himself the censor." She called the Mephistopheles of Goethe a civilized devil, in comparison with the devils of Milton and Dante.

Her characterization of Faust was not so favorable. Faust appeared to her as weak, changeful, sentimental, and sated with pleasure. He has recourse to sorcery because his ambition is greater than his strength. Her misapprehension of the character of Faust, as well as the entire drama, is due in large measure to the fact that she did not expect Faust to be saved. She did not refer to the Prologue, and without doubt did not understand its import. "The intention of the author," she said, "doubtless is that Margaret should perish, and that God should pardon her; that the life of Faustus should be preserved, but that his soul should be lost."

Madame de Staël gave a *résumé* of "Faust" which is interspersed with a number of translated passages. The reader does not always get a clear idea of the drift of the action from her outline, as she did not give the passages she quoted in consecutive order. When her book appeared in England in 1813, these fragments were naturally retranslated into English and represent, if one excepts the Cathedral Scene of Taylor,

the first English translation of parts of "Faust." She succeeded best in rendering the Dungeon scene, which strongly affected her.²⁴

Madame de Staël's portraiture of "Faust" did not bring the English people nearer to an understanding and full appreciation of Goethe's poem. Her admiration was too reserved. While she recognized the great genius of Goethe, she nevertheless said in conclusion: "It is to be wished that such productions may not be multiplied." She emphasized the parts that appealed to her most, but she did not have a thorough understanding of "Faust" as a whole. This led Jean Paul, in reviewing "L'Allemagne," to speak of Madame de Staël's "too narrow ill-will against Goethe's 'Faust.'" And further: "The whole 'Faust' of Madame de Staël has all fire color bleached out of it."²⁵ Her review was not objective. She read into Goethe's poem things that were not there, and condemned others as not in harmony with her taste.

But whatever defects may be ascribed to her review of "Faust," it had the merit of stimulating the interest of the English people. Her book was widely read, partly because it had been forbidden in France. Her characterization of Goethe's poem was attractive withal, and the English read it with pleasure. "L'Allemagne" was regarded quite generally as the chief source of the knowledge that the English possessed of "Faust." As late as 1826 the *Quarterly Review* remarked in a discussion of a "Faust" translation: "As all the world is acquainted with Madame de Staël's 'Germany' and Schlegel's 'Lectures on the Literature of the Drama,' we may take it for granted that anything in the shape of a regular analysis of 'Faust' would be superfluous in this place."²⁶

A. W. Schlegel reviewed "Faust" briefly in his lecture on

²⁴ For an estimate of the French translation of Madame de Staël, cf. Langkavel, "Die französischen Übertragungen von Goethes Faust," Strassburg, 1902, pp. 2-7.

²⁵ *Heidelberger Jahrbücher* (1815). Translated by Carlyle, "Essays," Vol. II, pp. 366 and 373. Originally published in *Fraser's Magazine*, Vol. I, p. 28.

²⁶ *Quarterly Review* (1826), Vol. XXXIV, p. 140. Concerning the possible share of A. W. Schlegel in "De L'Allemagne," cf. O. F. Walzel's study in *Forschungen zur neueren Literaturgeschichte. Festgabe für R. Heinzel*. Weimar, 1898, p. 275.

the German drama. As was stated before, his "Lectures on Dramatic Art and Literature" were translated into English in 1815.²⁷ He had previously expressed his opinion of "Faust. Ein Fragment." He regarded the completed First Part also as a fragment, and thought that, from its very nature, it would probably always remain a fragment. As his lectures were on the theme of dramatic art, he wished to discuss "Faust" only from a dramatic point of view, and said it was therefore not the place to express the whole of his admiration for Goethe's drama. Before discussing its dramaturgic aspects, however, he said: "It is hard to say whether we are here most lost at the elevation which the poet frequently reaches, or seized with giddiness at the depths which he lays open to our sight."

In his further discussion he dwelt upon the dramatic and theatrical phases of "Faust." From this standpoint he saw in it a number of disconnected scenes and long monologues which are not carefully related to the progress of the drama as a whole. Parts of it he considered very powerful, even from a dramatic point of view, but regarded it as well-nigh impossible to represent "Faust" on the stage. He said: "Some scenes, full of the highest energy and overpowering pathos, for example, the murder of Valentine, and Gretchen and Faustus in the dungeon, prove that the poet was a complete master of popular effect, and that he merely sacrificed it for the sake of more comprehensive views. He makes frequent calls on the imagination of his readers; nay, he compels them to supply immense movable pictures, and such as no theatrical art is capable of bringing before the eye by way of background for his flying groups. To represent the 'Faustus' of Goethe, we must possess Faustus' magic staff, and his formulæ of conjuration."

This review, like that of Madame de Staël, served to make "Faust" better known in England, but it did not materially assist the English in understanding Goethe's poem as Goethe meant it to be understood. But their curiosity was now aroused. "Faust" became a subject of discussion. If there had been a competent English interpreter, he would have been received with eager regard.

²⁷ Cf. *supra*, p. 16, and Schlegel's "Lectures," p. 431.

During the next few years, "Faust" was mentioned a number of times, the reviewers in nearly all cases taking their cues from Madame de Staël and Schlegel. In discussing Schlegel's "Lectures," the *Quarterly Review* said:²⁸ "The merits of 'Faust,' one of the most extravagant productions of ill-directed though boundless genius, cannot be estimated by any established principles, because it sets them all at defiance. The piece, which in spite of its various alterations, is no better than a fragment, is founded upon the old and popular story of the Devil and Dr. Faustus. . . . Goethe is unquestionably a master of scenic effect, but he has sacrificed it intentionally to more weighty considerations, which he was too prudent to avow. That "Faustus" is a work of extraordinary merit, and displays the strongest intellect, it would be a want of candor to deny—but we neither envy nor admire the talents that produced it, at the expense of feeling, morality, and religion: for it not only aims at destroying all the comforts of the present life, by proving that man is destined to misery from birth, however extensive his fortunes, exalted his rank, or cultivated his intellect, but it tends to deprive him of the only solace that is left for his misfortune, the prospect of a blessed futurity."

The first part of this criticism sounds like Schlegel, but the last part, where the reviewer moralizes on "Faust," is distinctively English. It is hard to see how he could read such ideas into Goethe's drama. Only a distorted view could lead one to the conclusion that Goethe aimed at "proving that man is destined to misery from birth." Still, one must not be too severe with this English critic. If he had known what Goethe had in store for his hero in the Second Part, his view would perhaps have been changed. It must not be forgotten that Schlegel made no reference to the Prologue, nor did he offer any explanation of the phase of the drama touched on in this review.

The same year, in reviewing "L'Allemagne," the *Quarterly Review* spoke of "Faust" as follows: "Such a drama is, of course, not intended for representation, and, even in the conception of such a character, we are not sure that a degree of

²⁸ *Quarterly Review* (1814), Vol. XII, p. 144.

immorality is not involved." This criticism is very similar to that of Madame de Staël. The reviewer then admitted that there would be no danger in reading "Faust," saying: "But 'Faust' with all its horrors may be read without danger, though not without a painful feeling. The seduction of Gretchen inspires a degree of pity for her, and abhorrence for her betrayer, amounting almost to agony. The hatred and loathing which Mephistopheles is made to inspire, deprive his characteristic blasphemy of all power to harm; and the feeble ambition, the joyless vice, the tasteless success, and hopeless struggles of Faustus, with whom, though we pity him, we never sympathize, afford a splendid and awful moral of the blindness of human desires."²⁹

In this instance the suggestion of an important magazine, that there was no harm in reading "Faust," doubtless relieved a number of souls who had been enjoying it and deriving benefit from it. When the reviewer spoke of the "hopeless struggles of Faustus," he had failed to grasp the significance of that line of the Prologue where the Lord says:

So werd' ich ihn bald in die Klarheit führen.

In these criticisms made incidental to reviews of "L'Allemagne" and Schlegel's "Lectures," it is very probable that the critics themselves had not read "Faust," but based their remarks entirely upon the discussions of Madame de Staël and Schlegel.

When Goethe's "Faust" was presented to the English, they were naturally reminded of their own "Faustus" by Marlowe, and made comparisons of the two dramas.³⁰ While the English at that time (about 1814) were not yet willing to concede complete superiority to Goethe's drama, a critic in the *Monthly Review* did award the palm to Goethe so far as genuine poetic power is concerned. He said: "Goethe's 'Faustus' appears greatly to excel the play of old Marlowe in the merits of invention and terrible interest. We are not now speaking of the correctness of that taste which can delight

²⁹ *Quarterly Review* (1814), Vol. X, p. 390.

³⁰ Carlyle also compares Marlowe's drama with Goethe's. See *infra*, p. 54.

itself in such wild and revolting fictions; but the distorted phraseology of the Teutonic drama must not pretend to compare with the strength and purity of the Elizabethan period.”³¹ This notion of “Faust” as of the “tale of terror” type, a revolting Teutonic fiction, seems to have been in the minds of a number of Englishmen at this time.

In 1814 a London publisher, Murray, thought it might be a good business venture to have “Faust” translated into English, as it would now probably find a ready market after having been brought before the public by Madame de Staël. He negotiated with Coleridge, who, though he accepted the offer, could not bring himself to do the labor, and so the project was dropped. It is to be regretted that Coleridge did not undertake the work. His version would have forestalled many of the poorer translations of a later date. For several years after Murray’s unsuccessful negotiations with Coleridge, no further attempt was made to bring “Faust” before the English public. Only the few that knew German, had an opportunity to become more closely acquainted with Goethe’s poem.

About 1820 the “Outlines to Goethe’s Faust,” published first by Retzsch in 1816, began to attract attention in England. The edition of 1818 was imported by Bohte, a Covent Garden bookseller, and found a ready sale.³² The *London Magazine* announced in 1820 that these “Outlines” were for sale in London, and briefly described them. A list of the plates was given, and the descriptions were connected by a short narrative to show the relation they bear to each other. In the course of this discussion the Prologue in Heaven is incidentally referred to. Here for the first time an Englishman recorded his disapproval of this scene of Goethe’s “Faust.” The writer said: “The Germans have not yet resigned that freedom of manner which may be considered as a proof of innocence or of impudence, according as it is traced to simplicity of heart, or contempt for things which most people consider sacred. In short, they take liberties with attributes, names, and characters, in which it

³¹ *Monthly Review* (1814), Vol. LXXV, p. 237.

³² “Umriss zu Goethes Faust in 26 Blättern.” Tübingen, 1818.

would not be pardonable in us to follow them, because we have in our country got far beyond the patriarchal stage. They do not hesitate still to introduce the person of the Deity in compositions of a mixed nature."³³

This notion of the English concerning the Prologue will be discussed in treating a later period, during which the manifestations of this prejudice became very widespread, and even received countenance in the practice of men like John Stuart Blackie. The reviewer in the *London Magazine* knew the analogy of the Prologue to the poem of the book of Job. It was with a feeling of self-conscious superiority that he relegated such scenes in the literature of a people to the "patriarchal stage."

The "Outlines" published in Germany were republished in England in 1820, together with extracts from "Faust," by George Soane, under the following title: "Extracts from Goethe's Tragedy of Faustus, explanatory of the plates by Retzsch, intended to illustrate that work." Translated by George Soane.³⁴ There are bound up with this work of Soane the Retzsch outlines of 1816. The translator, as he called himself, said he differed from the German analyst in his choice of quotations. There are twenty-six plates, and each one of them received a brief explanation in addition to the appropriate quotation from the drama. In the preface the author stated: "Goethe's tragedy of 'Faustus' is the most singular and perhaps the most original production of modern genius." The great demand for these "Outlines" prompted another publisher the same year to bring them before the public, also with an explanatory analysis of the drama, under the title: "Retzsch's Series of 26 Outline Illustrations of Goethe's Tragedy of Faust, engraved from the Originals by Henry Moses."³⁵ The plates are alone, and an analysis is bound up with them, having a separate title: "An analysis of Goethe's Tragedy of Faust in illustration of Retzsch's Series of Outlines." The text of the analysis comprises sixty pages. The preface begins: "The

³³ *London Magazine* (1820), Vol. I, p. 137.

³⁴ London, 1820, J. H. Bohte.

³⁵ London, 1820. Printed for Boosey & Sons.

'Faust' of Goethe is perhaps the most original work of German poesy."³⁶ The rest of the introduction is a free adaptation of the introduction to the German edition of 1816, mentioned above. The plates were attractive and made the book popular.

The same year witnessed the first attempt to render selections of "Faust" in verse. They were published in *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*.³⁷ An analysis of the whole First Part is given, interspersed with the translations in verse. The credit for this attempt belongs to an Irish barrister, John Anster, although the article is sometimes erroneously attributed to Gillies.³⁸ It is evident from the references that Anster had his attention directed to "Faust" by Madame de Staël, as he mentioned her several times in the course of his remarks. His translation of passages are open to criticism, and Shelley and Hayward expressed their disapproval of them. Like the writer in the *London Magazine*, Anster objected to the Prologue. He said: "This (the Prologue) contains a great deal that is written in a light and irreverent tone, and possesses, we think, very little merit of any kind." Evidently he did not consider the Prologue to be of much importance, and he utterly failed to divine its meaning. He did not understand Goethe's lines:

Ein guter Mensch in seinem dunklen Drange
Ist sich des rechten Weges wohl bewusst.

Since he did not understand the Prologue, he had to explain the moral issue of the drama in another way, and he did so to his satisfaction by saying that Faust is not guilty, but is merely a tool of Mephistopheles, and therefore his guilt must be transferred to the Devil. "Faustus," he said, "is represented as being as unstable as water, with an active, impatient mind, with a kindly and affectionate heart. We feel that he loves the poor girl whom he destroys—we transfer the guilt to the Satanic being by whom he is attended—we pity and forgive him. The

³⁶ Goethe received these "Outlines." He wrote in 1820 that they were making "viel Aufsehen" in England. Later, he said: "Die Kupfer zum 'Faust' von Retzsch gezeichnet, erschienen im Nachstich zu London höchst reinlich und genau." Gräf, pp. 268, 269, and 315.

³⁷ Vol. VII, pp. 235-258, *Horæ Germanicæ*, No. 5.

³⁸ Thus, for example, by "Poole's Index."

moral sense is not wounded by an endeavor to justify his crimes, for we regard him, not as a culprit, but as a sufferer under the influence of an evil demon."³⁹

While Anster did not understand "Faust" as a whole, he still had a sympathetic mind for its beauties. The sublimity of Goethe's conceptions, and the delicate rhythm of the verse captivated him. Like others, Anster held that Coleridge, who had, in his "Christabel," approached more nearly than any other English poet to the versification of "Faust," would be the translator to give Goethe's poem in musical English. He said: "Goethe seems to us to have conveyed the most lofty conceptions of the nature of man, and those beings with whom we are connected for good or evil, in language rich, yet simple—dignified, yet familiar—and in parts of the work, we almost believe while we are listening, in the magical effects attributed to sound. Nothing that we know in our language can give any idea of the charm we allude to, but a few of the most inspired passages of Coleridge."

Anster's sympathetic delineation of "Faust," with the translation of copious extracts, did not fail to influence the readers of the magazine. There is on record an utterance of the poet, Thomas Moore, who was signally affected by the reading of these extracts. He wrote in his Journal, October 16, 1820: "I sat up to read the account of 'Dr. Faustus' in the *Edinburgh Magazine* and, before I went to bed, experienced one of those bursts of devotion which, perhaps, are worth all the church-going forms in the world. Tears came fast from me as I knelt down to adore the one only God whom I acknowledge, and poured forth the aspirations of a soul deeply grateful for all his goodness."⁴⁰

The year 1820 is important in the annals of "Faust" discussion in England. A second noteworthy criticism appeared that year in another periodical. In July the *London Magazine* announced that it had received a masterly paper on Goethe's

³⁹ *Loc. cit.*, p. 236.

⁴⁰ "Memoirs, Journal, and Correspondence of Thomas Moore." Edited by the Right Hon. Lord John Russell, M. P. In 8 Volumes. London, 1853, Vol. III, p. 157.

"Faust" which was to be published in the next number. Incidentally the announcement said: "The 'Faustus' of Goethe (generally considered his best production) is still but very imperfectly known here (though it is now spoken of with much interest) even in respect of its plan, and the peculiarities of its execution. Translation it is said to defy—a bad or impotent translation would be a great nuisance to England and a crying injustice to Germany, from which we still hope to remain free, but we have heard certain hints that make us tremble."⁴¹

The paper itself was published in the next number, August, 1820. It is the best appreciation of Goethe's "Faust" that had appeared in England up to this time. One would fain know who the author was, but he can not be identified. After a general appreciation of Goethe and his works, the writer passed to a discussion of "Faust."⁴² His methods were scholarly. He began by giving the substance of the popular tradition of Faust and its relations to Goethe's work. Then Lessing's "Faust" fragment was treated, and a comparison of Lessing's and Goethe's plans made. On this point he said in substance: In Lessing's "Faust" the influence employed is extrinsic—namely, infernal suggestion, which is successful in perverting the mind of Faust. Goethe, on the other hand, is not content to show the perversions of his hero, availing himself of the direct and straightforward agency of an evil spirit, but he adventures on the more difficult task of deriving them solely from the internal springs of his nature, acting according to the laws of human thought and feeling.

A careful *résumé* of "Faust" is then given. Of translation there is little—only a part of the scene with the Earth Spirit. It is a matter for surprise that the reviewer, in his excellent account of Goethe's poem, made no reference to the Prologue. He said that Goethe had originally intended to write a trilogy, but that this First Part formed a whole by itself and fully displayed the dominating idea which governed him in the conception of the work. And yet the writer felt that the drama as it stood was not complete, that the story of Faust

⁴¹ *London Magazine* (1820), Vol. II, p. 6.

⁴² *London Magazine* (1820), Vol. II, pp. 125-142.

could not possibly be at an end. In a very sane way he deferred the criticism which the unsolved moral problem called forth, and hoped that Goethe would yet enlighten the public on the fate of Faust. He said: "The interest we take in Margaret is so strong as almost to destroy that which we ought to feel in the fortunes of Faustus, the hero of the piece. This would be a fault in the poem, were it completed: but as we have but the First Part, and no one can tell how dextrously the poet may be able to conduct us from an episode back to the original story, criticism must be silent on this point—and instead of displaying its rules, content itself with hoping that the author will yet give completion to his work."⁴³

While the reviewer felt the incompleteness of "Faust" and saw its irregularities, he nevertheless appreciated its sublime beauties. On this point he said:⁴⁴ "The numerous and transcendental beauties do not consist either in the quality or continued importance of the actions of the personages; or in the art with which these are interwoven together, or in the nature of the plot or its progressive development. Its power and brilliancy—and it has much of both—are rather constituted by the truth and richness of the sentiments suggested by the characters and the situations, expressed and illustrated by means of new images, always evident—with wonderful ease as well as variety of style, and a rhythmical harmony full of effect; in the frank boldness of the touch with which are depicted the most secret phenomena of the mind; in the keenness and perspicacity of the moral views, which extending themselves over creation convert it, as it were, into a vast satire."

Such an appreciation of "Faust" at this time in England deserves to be noted. Ordinary critics dwelt chiefly upon the moral aspects of Goethe's poem. They discussed whether Goethe was culpable for portraying, in some instances, the immoral, or whether he transgressed the bounds of propriety in representing the Deity in the Prologue. Here was a critic who saw the merits of "Faust" very much as moderns see them. The reviewer, however, also pointed out what he con-

⁴³ *Loc. cit.*, p. 141.

⁴⁴ *Loc. cit.*, p. 135.

sidered a fault in the poem—the Walpurgis-Night. Like some other critics since his time, he felt that it was not attuned to the pathos of the situation, and that Goethe should have spared his readers this inopportune revel on the Blocksberg. But if one reads Witkowski's explanation of the dramatic function of the Walpurgis-Night, one is convinced of its absolute necessity in the economy of the drama. He shows that this appeal to the basest passions of Faust must be made, that he must be put to the final test of the most powerful attractions that Mephistopheles is able to offer. If Faust finds permanent satisfaction in these materialistic pleasures, he is lost. But Mephistopheles does not succeed in fascinating and holding him. When the vision of Margaret appears, he rouses himself to new activity, and this is the beginning of his progress to higher and better things.⁴⁵

During the next year (1821) there appeared a revision and enlargement of the Boosey publication. "Faustus: From the German of Goethe. The greater part of Part One, translated in verse and connected by a prose narrative. With 27 Illustrations in Outline by Moritz Retzsch." The introduction stated: "The slight analysis drawn up as an accompaniment to Retzsch's Outlines being out of print, the publishers felt desirous to supply its place with a more careful abstract of 'Faust,' which, while it served as a book of reference and explanation for the use of the purchasers of the plates, might also possess some claims to interest the general reader as an independent publication."⁴⁶ There are twenty-seven plates, one more than in the previous edition. The added plate is a frontispiece illustrative of the Prelude in the Theater, entitled: "Zum Vorspiel." According to Oswald, it was copied from Cornelius. This is the publication against which Carlyle raised his voice in such an emphatic manner. It brought forth in 1822 his Essay on Goethe's "Faust," which is the next important event in the history of "Faust" criticism in England. It

⁴⁵ Cf. Witkowski, "Faust," *Kommentar*, p. 115. See also, "Die Walpurgisnacht im ersten Teile von Goethes Faust," Leipzig, 1894.

⁴⁶ The abstract could also be purchased separately. It was a book of 86 pp.

will be again referred to in discussing Carlyle's attitude toward "Faust." Suffice it to say here, that he characterized the analysis of the Boosey publication as "interspersed with extracts of considerable length and feeble bits of translation." He protested against a work of this kind because it was misleading as to the real nature of Goethe's poem.⁴⁷

The magazines also took up the discussion of the Boosey publication. The *European Magazine and London Review* spoke more favorably of it than Carlyle. It said: "That which has the most contributed to render 'Faust' more popular in England, is the series of beautiful Outlines by Retzsch, which delighted all those who read the tragedy, and made those who had not anxious to peruse it."⁴⁸ But this magazine took into consideration only the plates. If the analysis of this work by Boosey was reviewed, it could not be otherwise than unfavorably, as it gave only a distorted view of Goethe's "Faust." Thus the *London Magazine* inclined to Carlyle's opinion of the inadequacy of this abstract. Its criticism is as follows: "Boosey has published a very pleasing abstract of this labyrinthine poem with copious and sufficiently faithful versions in blank verse, which can give the English reader no very satisfactory idea of this drama, written in the most varied meters, principally rimed, and which is essentially lyrical, both in conception and execution."⁴⁹

The English found these outlines attractive, and when, in 1823, Gower's translation appeared, it became quite fashionable to buy Retzsch's "Outlines to Faust" and Gower's translation.⁵⁰ In 1823 a German edition of "Faust" was brought out by a London publisher for those who wished to read it in the original.⁵¹ Shelley's fragments also appeared in the early twenties,⁵² the Walpurgis-Night in the *Liberal* in 1822, and the Prologue in his "Posthumous Poems" in 1824. Gower's translation was republished in a second edition in 1825.

⁴⁷ Cf. *infra*, p. 53 f.

⁴⁸ Vol. LXXX (1821), p. 362.

⁴⁹ Vol. IV (1821), p. 657.

⁵⁰ Cf. *infra*, p. 99.

⁵¹ "Faust, eine Tragödie." London, 1823. J. H. Bohte.

⁵² Cf. *infra*, p. 94.

In the numerous reviews of Shelley's and Gower's translations, an opinion was now and then ventured on the character and merits of "Faust," although the reviewers dwelt chiefly on the qualities of the translations as such. The *Quarterly Review* regretted the omission of the Prologue by Gower, since it was all but fatal to the understanding of the drama as a whole. The discussion continued: "'Faust,' never concluded by Goethe and thus deprived of its commencement by his translator, can no more be expected to produce its just effect on the mind of the reader, than the book of Job without its first and last chapters."⁵³ The reviewer touched on the moral aspect of "Faust," saying: "No one who weighs well the last scene of the poem can doubt that if the author had ever completed it, the repentance of the seducer would have come forth, and been rewarded as fully as that of his victim Margaret." The importance of the Prologue for an understanding of 'Faust' as a whole, was here for the first time emphatically set forth. The speculation as to the exact nature of Goethe's plan with respect to his hero was rather hazardous, especially as the reviewer based his guess on the last scene. All that Goethe chose to tell in advance of the eventual fate of Faust is given in the Prologue. What he says, is that Faust shall be led into the light. How that was to be done was left unsolved. We only hear later that he is to see both the "little world" and the "great world."⁵⁴

The *London Magazine*, usually sane in its "Faust" criticism, called attention to the futility of such prognostications as to the future fate of Goethe's hero. In reviewing Gower's translation it expressed itself as follows on this point: "An examination of the plot and moral of the piece would be beside our present purpose. We shall not dive into the poet's mind and canvass his intentions. We shall not adopt the antithetical arrangement of Madame de Staël who insists that the author's meaning is, that as Margaret suffered for her crime, and was pardoned by heaven, so Faust's life is to be saved but his soul damned; nor the more human disposition of the *Quarterly*

⁵³ *Quarterly Review* (1826), XXXIV, p. 138.

⁵⁴ Cf. I. 2052.

reviewer, that if the author had ever completed the poem, the repentance of the seducer would have come forth, and been rewarded as fully as that of his victim Margaret. We abstain from all such speculations, for the simple reason that as the author has been contented to leave the matter unsettled, we deem it superfluous to settle it for him."⁵⁵

The *Edinburgh Review*, however, did not hesitate to enter into a discussion of the moral aspects of "Faust."⁵⁶ It said, in substance, that notwithstanding the omission of sundry objectionable passages by Lord Gower, the immoral tendency of the design and incidents was so ground into the whole substance of the work, that the book would surely be outlawed at once by Lord Eldon. It saw in "Faust" only the "story of the adventures of a German student, who having overread himself into weariness and disappointment, quits his books for life and nature, by turning debauchee and seducing a servant-maid." Judging by this criticism, one might suppose that the reviewer was acquainted only with the "Fragment" of 1790, and based his opinion on that, rather than on Part First as a whole. But the more reasonable assumption is, that he did not read "Faust" in the original at all, and that his misconceptions are to be traced to the mutilated translation of Gower. This critique was one of the first fruits of that wretched version which was in large measure to blame for the continued misinterpretation of Goethe's poem.

While this reviewer found much that was objectionable in "Faust," he was nevertheless willing to concede the power and genius displayed in Goethe's drama. He called it, "a sort of monster in literature, redeemed only as a work of art, by the prodigious hardihood displayed in its invention, and by the marvellous ease of its execution." Like some other critics, he found it decidedly German in its nature, and as such, far removed from English sympathies. "'Faust' appears to us, both in its matter and manner, the extreme compound of German genius and German extravagance. . . . The poetry of course is the chief compensation which will support an English

⁵⁵ *London Magazine* (1826), Vol. XVI, p. 165.

⁵⁶ *Edinburgh Review* (1830), Vol. LII, p. 252.

reader and carry him through these chambers of incongruous imagery."

The early years of the fourth decade⁵⁷ exhibit a renewed activity in the criticism and translation of Goethe's "Faust." The death of the Sage of Weimar in 1832 was keenly felt even in England. The love and respect evinced by the Germans on this occasion for Goethe, could not help but increase his prestige and influence abroad. Then, the publication of the Second Part of "Faust" in his "Posthumous Works" also gave a new impetus to the study of his masterpiece.

In 1833 appeared Hayward's translation of Part First. For ten years Gower alone had held the field, but his rendering of "Faust" had not proved satisfactory, and the need of an adequate version was felt very strongly. In Hayward's translation the English were for the first time made familiar with the exact contents of Part First in their own language. In connection with the review of Hayward's "Faust" and the other translations which appeared during this decade,⁵⁸ there is now and then some comment on the character and merits of Goethe's drama.

To begin with those reviews that take into consideration only Part First, the *Dublin University Magazine* discussed "Faust" and the minor poems of Goethe in 1836. No reference was made to the Second Part. According to this reviewer, the history of the calamities and struggles of "Faust" is a satire on the constitution of society, and his destruction another on Divine Providence. He continued: "We can find nothing in the poem to justify us in the belief that Goethe intended to leave us in the supposition that he (Faust) was ultimately saved, and we can not attach much weight to the speculations of those who choose to invent a termination of their own for the drama. In the work of Goethe we believe that Faustus

⁵⁷ The chronology has not been followed exactly here, in order to introduce the previous belated review (1830) of Gower's "Faust" in its proper connection. It is to be noted that the year 1828 witnessed the publication of Carlyle's "Helena" in the *Foreign Review*. Cf. "Essays," Vol. I, p. 171. Goethe's "Helena" had appeared in Goethe's works, "Ausgabe letzter Hand." Stuttgart and Tübingen, 1828, Vol. IV. Cf. *infra*, p. 56.

⁵⁸ The principal ones were Blackie and Syme (1834), and Anster (1835).

is destroyed; and his destruction is, we repeat it, a libel on Divine Providence."⁵⁹ The reviewer did not find any hint in the drama as to the disposition Goethe intended to make of his hero. He evidently based his conclusion upon the last scene of Part First. He admired the Chants of the Archangels, and quoted it in several English translations, but he did not refer to the last part of the Prologue in Heaven where he would have found the explanation of his difficulties. The reviewer was a wanderer in the dark, and was no doubt enlightened when he stumbled upon the Second Part which had been published for three years.⁶⁰ Since Faust was not to be saved, in the opinion of the reviewer, the drama was not to be regarded as teaching a moral lesson, but as a specimen of pure power. He regarded it as the "boldest and most vivid manifestation of power that, as a poem, the whole world perhaps is capable of exhibiting." He saw in it, "fervor of sentiment—force of delineation—fidelity of character—grace, and occasionally gorgeousness of diction." The reviewer showed that he was not prejudiced, in spite of the fact that he did not understand the moral significance of the drama. He did not, like so many of his compatriots, on this account condemn the whole drama as worthless and dangerous.

With the year 1833 the reviews of the Second Part began to appear. One naturally looks forward to these discussions with interest, expecting that most of the difficulties which the English had in understanding and appreciating Goethe's masterpiece would now be removed. Goethe's entire plan was then revealed and the moral problem of "Faust" had been solved. But one is compelled to turn away from most of these reviews in disappointment. The misinterpretation of the Second Part in England is a long story. The beginning was made by Hayward in the *Foreign Quarterly Review* in 1833.⁶¹ Other critics like Lewes (1855), Blackie (1886), Sime (1888), and Seely (1893), were all blind to the meaning and merits of the Second Part.

⁵⁹ Vol. VII, p. 278.

⁶⁰ He used the "Ausgabe letzter Hand," where "Faust" appeared in Vol. XII, in 1829.

⁶¹ *Foreign Quarterly Review* (1833), Vol. XII, p. 81.

Hayward had devoted much time to the study of "Faust," Part First, and he, of all Englishmen, ought to have been best prepared for an appreciation of the Second Part, but he failed to understand it. The object of his review was a discussion of Goethe's "Posthumous Works," but he dwelt chiefly on the Second Part of "Faust," giving a *résumé* and translating extracts in prose. He said that there had been so much speculation as to the real meaning and tendency of "Faust," that the English public would be glad to know the conclusion of the plot. He thought, however, that no further disquisition on the philosophical object of the poem would be tolerated, and so he intended to avoid all attempts of this sort. According to Hayward, if one compares the problem proposed at the outset of the poem with what must now be termed the solution of it, one cannot help suspecting that the author had no definite object at all; that he began his drama in a happy state of recklessness and left the ending to take care of itself. Comparing the two parts of the drama, Hayward said: "The Second Part presents few of those fine trains of philosophical thinking, or those exquisite touches of natural pathos, which form the great attraction of the First. The principal charm of the present work will be found to consist in the idiomatic ease of the language, the spirit with which the lighter measures are struck off; and above all the unrivalled beauty of the descriptive passages; a department of art in which Goethe appears to have maintained his supremacy to the last."⁶²

While Hayward was willing to admit the beauties of the entire Second Part, he was utterly unable to comprehend the final solution of the problem of the drama. On this subject he expressed himself as follows: "We are wholly at a loss to conceive how the pleasure of draining bogs, or even of contending eternally for existence with the sea, could be of so exalted a nature as to make the bare anticipation of it sufficient to content a man who had run the whole round of sub-lunary enjoyment—indeed Faust had only to be born a Dutchman to enjoy this last pleasure from the first. Still less can

⁶² *Loc. cit.*, p. 84.

we understand why the Devil is cheated out of his due; for not one virtuous action, and scarcely one ennobling thought in addition to those which he started with, is anywhere attributed to Faust. His soul appears to have made little, if any progress toward fitting it for that higher region it is wafted to, nor, to say truth, in his adventures to inform or purify the mind or heart of any man."⁶³

One sees that the reviewer was hemmed in too much by his prejudices to be able to appreciate the solution of the moral problem as proposed by Goethe. Naturally he wished Faust to be punished for his misdeeds, according to the saga, as he had it in mind. But Goethe had planned to save his hero, though he does not make use of punishment and penance in the orthodox way. Still, in a measure, Faust does atone for his sins by his intense suffering in the last scenes of Part First. He is undergoing excruciating agony from the time when, during the orgies of the Walpurgis-Night, the apparition of Margaret strikes him like a dart, until he is compelled in the dungeon to witness the heartrending despair of the woman he loves. What suffering is portrayed when Faust exclaims: "Der Menschheit ganzer Jammer fasst mich an!" or again: "Werd' ich den Jammer überstehn!" and: "O wär' ich nie geboren!"⁶⁴ The reader's sympathy in this scene is given to a great extent to the innocent and unfortunate Margaret, but Faust's sufferings are none the less real and intense.

It may be said, of course, that Faust has caused all this misery and then given himself up to wild revels without any thought of Margaret. But it must not be forgotten that Faust is represented as under evil guidance, and in spite of the experiences that he has had, his heart is still sound and his conscience still unseared.⁶⁵ His whole nature responds when he becomes aware of the fate of Margaret. Therefore Goethe could solve the problem as he did. He could cure his hero of the pangs of remorse in refreshing sleep under Lethean dews, and have him lifted to a higher level by the glorious vision of

⁶³ *Loc. cit.*, p. 105.

⁶⁴ Lines 4406, 4441, and 4596.

⁶⁵ Cf. Calvin Thomas, "Faust," Part II, p. xxxi.

an Alpine sunrise. Then he could use the experiences of the "great world" to bring Faust to a final realization of the supreme moment in the anticipation of an extensive work to be done in the interest of humanity.

As to the eventual employment of Faust in draining bogs by which Hayward is disturbed, that is important only as a concrete expression of the underlying principle of altruistic activity. Other expressions of the same idea might have been used by Goethe. But to him the thought of reclaiming large tracts of land from the sea and making them habitable for future generations, had a peculiar fascination. It was closely connected with his ideas of colonization as expressed in the "Wanderjahre." The question of subduing the sea was a live one at that time, and the subject of much popular discussion.⁶⁶ To Goethe it represented the best possible opportunity for the full and free activity of his hero in working out his salvation. Still he does not permit Faust to gain heaven on account of these plans for wide altruistic activity, but for the reason that a soul that strives is fit for further development in the world to come.

After such a review as that just discussed it is not surprising to find a remark in one of the magazines like the following: "We make no allusion to the wretched Second Part of 'Faust' which recently appeared among Goethe's 'Posthumous Works.' The editor who sanctioned its publication has done his utmost to degrade his author's reputation."⁶⁷

It is with pleasure that one turns from such benightedness to the very favorable and appreciative review in the *Dublin University Magazine* of the year 1833.⁶⁸ Here was at least one reviewer who was able to value "Faust" as a whole as early as the first year after the publication of the Second Part. To begin with, the reviewer quoted the following lines of "Faust":

Daran erkenn' ich den gelehrten Herrn!
Was ihr nicht tastet, steht euch meilenfern.⁶⁹

⁶⁶ Cf. *Goethe-Jahrbuch*, Vol. XVII, p. 221.

⁶⁷ *Quarterly Review* (1834), Vol. LII, p. 21, footnote.

⁶⁸ Vol. II, p. 361. Discussion of Goethe's "Posthumous Works," No. I, "Faust."

⁶⁹ Lines 4917-18.

He then spoke of the recognized standing of "Faust" and of its critics, saying: "None but such as Mephistopheles alludes to in this motto, none but such as ridiculed Shakespeare and Milton, in short none but the curs that bark at the moon, ever have attempted seriously to oppose the general opinion of those whose opinion is worth regard. The First Part, however, left the work in an unfinished state; not only the Prologue in Heaven, but the whole tendency and close of that volume made all its admirers look forward to its continuation and final accomplishment. . . . We received it only a few days ago, but after perusing it carefully, our admiration of the author has, if possible, still increased, and we feel bound to exclaim, 'a master! aye, and every inch a master.' The traces of old age are by no means visible in this new production of this veteran poet."

The reviewer then gave a *résumé* of Part First, saying that it was necessary to an understanding of the Second Part. He quoted part of the Prologue in Shelley's translation:

And stand ashamed when failure teaches thee
That a good man, even in his darkest longings,
Is well aware of the right way.

"From these lines," he said, "it is quite evident that the poet from the beginning contemplated to send Faust ultimately to heaven, and we really wonder how it could ever have been supposed in Germany as well as in this country, that the drama was concluded with the First Part and that Faust was to be triumphantly carried to Hell by the successful tempter."

This criticism speaks for itself. It is to be regretted that the reviewer did not complete his discussion of the entire Second Part. For some reason he stopped abruptly after giving a *résumé* with translated extracts of the first act of Part Second. His views on the entire "Faust" problem would no doubt have proved to be of much interest and significance. If the entire English and German world could have viewed the plan of "Faust" with his eyes, much of the misinterpretation of later days might have been averted.

A similar appreciative discussion appeared in the *Foreign*

Quarterly Review in 1840.⁷⁰ The writer said that he believed he had the key to solve the enigma that is supposed to be involved in Goethe's "Faust." He emphasized that "Faust" is to be studied as a whole, that both parts are to be considered as one. Further he said in substance: Goethe intended to teach no lesson by this poem; he did not wish to point out a new way to salvation or invent theological or metaphysical dogmas. Goethe aimed at being a poetic artist, and not a revealer. Men and their interests served him as the materials to be combined in a work of art. In such a poem, having man for its subject, the most heterogeneous subjects mingle, but if one does not discover in this immense variety beauty and completeness, the work has not been studied sufficiently.

This appreciation is quite modern in spirit. In fact it agrees with the latest utterances of the best "Faust" scholars. The enjoyment of "Faust" as a work of art—the consideration of the underlying idea of the poem as secondary to its artistic merits—the unity of plan and purposes of both parts—are all principles of modern "Faust" scholarship. The reviewer thought that Goethe did not intend his work for the public at large. He said the critic must therefore not condemn productions like "Faust" on account of their unpopularity. Of course "Faust" is above the ordinary populace. Goethe has always exercised his strongest influence on the few and not on the many.

But not all critics thought as favorably of Goethe's poem in its entirety as the last two writers mentioned. The same year the *Dublin Review* published an article entitled: "The sacred Poetry of 'Faust,'" in which a number of translations were discussed and the meaning of "Faust" as a whole was considered.⁷¹ The reviewer said in substance: The Second Part of "Faust," if regarded as a completion of the First, completely overthrows the theory that "Faust" is a grand moral or religious allegory, designed to illustrate the insufficiency of earthly pleasures, whether of mind or of sense, for the hap-

⁷⁰ Vol. XXV, p. 50, American edition. The pagination of the English edition differs from this.

⁷¹ *Dublin Review* (1840), Vol. IX, p. 477.

piness of man. Had Faust been prepared like Calderon's Cyprian by repentance and martyrdom or even by protracted trial, one might see in his ultimate deliverance some moral lesson. But the strange and incongruous close of the mystery in which the magician unpurified, and as far as meets the eye, almost unrepentant, is at once transferred to the heaven which he had insulted, is utterly at variance with any rational theory of religion and morals.

The reviewer preferred to regard the First Part as an independent, though unfinished poem, and to consider its object and scope without reference to the strange and incongruous lights thrown upon it by the Second. He discussed what he called the sacred poetry of the First Part, dwelling upon the Chants of the Archangels, the Easter songs, the Mater Dolorosa, and the Cathedral Scene. He conceded the beauty and sublimity of these scenes. These parts of "Faust" he was willing to accept, but he had no appreciation of the poem as a whole. Like Hayward his difficulty lay mainly in the conclusion to the Second Part. He was also a child of his age in looking first of all for the moral the poem was supposed to teach.

During the fifth decade the English did not pay much attention to "Faust." The first wave of interest in the Second Part had now subsided. It is also to be noted, as an explanation for this temporary lack of interest, that the literary conditions in Germany at that time were not favorable to the extension of the influence of Goethe and his "Faust." The battle concerning the relative greatness of Goethe and Schiller had been going on there for some time, and its influence was beginning to be felt in England. Menzel's "History of German Literature,"⁷² with its diatribes on Goethe, which had been published in Germany in 1828, was translated into English in 1840. The English received Menzel's work with favor. The important magazines reviewed it.⁷³ In some instances they were not quite ready to gulp down all that Menzel had to say

⁷² "German Literature, translated from the German of Menzel, with Notes," by T. Gordon, 4 vols. Oxford, 1840.

⁷³ *Edinburgh Review* (1836), Vol. LXIII, p. 442. *Blackwood's Magazine* (1841), Vol. L, p. 143, and *Foreign Quarterly Review* (1835), Vol. XVI, pp. 1-26.

about Goethe, yet most English critics agreed with him that Schiller ought to be placed above Goethe. In the wake of such an influence it is possible to find such scurrilous articles as the one in *Blackwood's Magazine* in 1839 entitled: "Goethe and the Germans."⁷⁴

The various theories concerning "Faust," expounded by some of the German critics, who considered Goethe's poem as an enigma to be solved, had also found their way to England. The English themselves had also looked first of all to the moral that "Faust" was expected to teach, but the excess to which some of the Germans carried this allegorical interpretation caused comment even among them. The *Edinburgh Review* adverted to this tendency in Germany as early as 1833, stating that the Germans tried to find in "Faust" hidden meanings and occult wisdom for men in all walks of life. The absurd is reached when it reported that a professor of medicine in Würzburg proposed a course of lectures in which he would treat especially of medicine and the most favorable method to be followed for its study according to Goethe's "Faust."⁷⁵

Renewed interest in Goethe's works dates from the appearance of Lewes's biography of Goethe in 1855.⁷⁶ Lewes was a critic of recognized standing in England. He tried to make Goethe and his works palatable to the English. To the present student of Goethe his biography has too much of an apologetic character. Lewes, in his criticism of "Faust," says that he troubles himself little with "considerations on the idea" of Goethe's poem, because artists have quite other objects in view than the developing of an idea.⁷⁷ So far his views of "Faust" are acceptable. The English, as could be observed in the criticisms that were quoted, were most intent on finding what the philosophical teaching of "Faust" was. This tendency characterized the entire "Faust" criticism of England during the period covered by this study. There were, as was pointed out, some exceptions, where reviewers emphasized that "Faust"

⁷⁴ Vol. XLV, p. 247.

⁷⁵ Vol. LVII, p. 138.

⁷⁶ "Life and Works of Goethe," by G. H. Lewes. In 2 vols. London, 1855.

⁷⁷ Vol. II, p. 283.

was a literary work of art and was to be enjoyed as such, without any special consideration of its "idea." But upon the whole, the study of "Faust" was centered chiefly upon its moral problem. In this respect, therefore, Lewes deserves commendation for calling the attention of the English to the necessity of an artistic appreciation of Goethe's poem.

But it is not so much to Lewes's credit that he is entirely blind to the merits of the Second Part of "Faust." He considers it a failure and an elaborate mistake. To him it is inferior to Part First, and requires a key to its understanding on account of its allegory.⁷⁸ In this, of course, Lewes is quite in accord with the views current in England at his time. The misinterpretation of the Second Part of "Faust" continued even several decades longer. There were always a few who understood and appreciated the whole of Goethe's masterpiece, but it was not until Coupland's "The Spirit of Goethe's Faust," appeared in 1885, that the interdependence of both parts was insisted upon. He took his cue from Herman Grimm and proclaimed emphatically the unity of both the First and the Second Parts.⁷⁹

During the second half of the century the study of Goethe's poem in England received many favorable impulses from Germany, and was carried on in a more scholarly way than before. The philological and historical interpretation of "Faust" by Scherer and his school exerted a strong influence on the methods of English "Faust" criticism.

The newer spirit of German "Faust" scholarship, while by no means disdaining philological investigation, aims by the aid of esthetic criticism to further the appreciation and enjoyment of Goethe's poem as an artistic whole. How wide the influence of this method—as defined by Erich Schmidt at the *Münchener Versammlung deutscher Philologen* in 1891,⁸⁰ and admirably exemplified by the recent work of Witkowski on "Faust"⁸¹—will become in England, remains yet to be seen.

⁷⁸ Vol. II, p. 423.

⁷⁹ W. C. Coupland. London, 1885.

⁸⁰ *Beilage zur Münchener Allgemeinen Zeitung* (1891), No. 143.

⁸¹ "Goethes Faust," published by Georg Witkowski, Leipzig, 1906.

CHAPTER III

THE ATTITUDE OF EMINENT LITERARY MEN TOWARD GOETHE'S "FAUST"

Under this head Carlyle, Coleridge, Byron, Scott, and Lamb will be treated. Shelley, having rendered fragments of "Faust," is listed with the translators. Investigations of the attitude of Wordsworth,¹ Southey, and De Quincey² to German literature have produced nothing of special interest bearing on "Faust." Macaulay³ seems to have studiously avoided expressing an opinion on Goethe.

1. *Thomas Carlyle*

The relation of Thomas Carlyle to German literature has been treated by Streuli⁴ (1895) and by Kraeger⁵ (1899). More recently Carlyle's relation to Goethe has been discussed by Baumgarten,⁶ but rather from a politico-social and ethical, than from a literary standpoint. Kraeger divides Carlyle's life into three periods. The first, his youth, extends to the year 1819. The second period, during which he was strongly under the influence of German literature, extends to about 1840. During the third period he occupied himself chiefly with history and social questions. This study falls within the scope of the second period.

Carlyle began the study of German in 1819. On February 15, he wrote to Mr. Mitchell that he was receiving instruction

¹ On the relation of Wordsworth and Southey to German literature, cf. *Studien zur vergleichenden Literaturgeschichte*, Vol. I, pp. 273-305.

² Dun, W. A. "Thomas De Quincey's Relation to German Literature and Philosophy," Diss. Strassburg, 1901.

³ Macaulay's unfavorable view of Goethe may be gathered from the "Memoirs of Thomas Moore," London, 1856, Vol. VII, p. 280.

⁴ "Thomas Carlyle als Vermittler deutscher Literatur und deutschen Geistes," by W. Streuli, Zürich, 1895.

⁵ "Carlyles Stellung zur deutschen Sprache und Literatur," *Anglia*, Vol. XXII, pp. 145-342.

⁶ "Carlyle und Goethe," by Otto Baumgarten, Tübingen, 1906.

in German from one Robert Jardine of Göttingen in return for instruction in French.⁷ In March he said that he was able to read books with a dictionary and was reading a stupid play of Kotzebue's. As early as 1820 he undertook the reading of "Faust." Goethe's poem was then attracting much attention and Carlyle was no doubt curious to know its contents. He was at once powerfully affected, as may be seen from his first letter to Goethe, June 24, 1824. Carlyle wrote: "Four years ago when I read your 'Faust' among the mountains of my native Scotland, I could not but fancy I might one day see you, and pour out before you as before a Father, the woes and wanderings of a heart whose mysteries you seemed so thoroughly to comprehend and could so beautifully represent."⁸

In 1822 he was at work upon a criticism of "Faust" which appeared in the *New Edinburgh Review*, April, 1822.⁹ The essay for some reason was not printed in Carlyle's complete works, but there can be no doubt that it was written by him. He wrote to Alexander Churchill January 12, 1822: "After returning, I set to on a criticism of 'Faust,' which the *Review* people were wanting"; and to John Carlyle, April 7, 1822: "I am going to enclose the critique on 'Faust.' You may show it to Ben, if he cares for it; and then let them have it at home."¹⁰

This essay on "Faust" was prompted by the analysis of Goethe's drama which had appeared in connection with Retzsch's "Outlines." Carlyle's criticism was directed especially against the publication¹¹ of Boosey and Sons in 1821. After referring to this analysis as worthless and misleading as to the real nature of Goethe's poem, he gave a careful *résumé*. He hoped to show the English people the real contents of "Faust," believing that in this way erroneous ideas in regard

⁷ "Early Letters," Norton, London, 1886. Vol. I, pp. 209 and 227.

⁸ "Correspondence between Goethe and Carlyle," Norton, London, 1887, p. 2.

⁹ Kraeger is in error when he says (p. 149) that the "Essay on Faust" appeared in 1821. The *New Edinburgh Review* is not to be confounded with the *Edinburgh Review*.

¹⁰ "Early Letters," Vol. II, pp. 25 and 55.

¹¹ Cf. *supra*, p. 38.

to its nature could be removed, and an appreciation of the poem stimulated. His motive in writing the essay, he himself best expressed when he said: "We have felt mortified at seeing the bright ærial creations of Goethe metamorphosed into such a stagnant, vapid *caput mortuum*." This excellent analysis is the principal merit of Carlyle's essay. The English were here for the first time made familiar with the exact contents of "Faust." While Carlyle was filled with admiration for Goethe's drama, he nevertheless pointed out what he considered its main weakness—its loose dramatic structure. He emphasized, however, that he was not referring to the unities of Aristotle or of the French school, but to the lack of unity in the general plan of the work. Still, he was willing to pardon this, since "Faust" is not constructed on common dramatic principles and is not adapted for theatrical representation. Its occasional extravagances and heterogeneous composition, he thought, have therefore a subordinate propriety.

Like some other English critics, Carlyle compared Goethe's "Faust" with the "Faustus" of Marlowe. On this point he said in substance: Marlowe has done little more than cast into dramatic form the story of the devil and Dr. Faustus, while Goethe's conception both of Faust and Mephistopheles is much more in harmony with a refined and intellectual age and far more ingenious and poetical. The introduction of magic merely serves as a means of illustrating certain feelings, and unfolding certain propensities which exist in the mind independently of magic; and the belief we are required to give it, is of the most loose and transient nature. As to the conclusion of Part First, he was under the impression that Goethe permits his hero to be lost. "It is not without reluctance, that in the play before us, we behold the inferior principle triumphant in the end. Faust's crimes are many, but his will seems to have had little share in them; even after his connection with the fiend, he feels virtuously even nobly." Carlyle seems to have had an instinctive feeling that Faust as Goethe portrayed him ought to have been saved. But that he interpreted Goethe as permitting his hero to go to perdition, one can also gather from his comparison of Goethe's and Marlowe's dramas. He called

attention to the similarity (so it appeared to him) of the ending of the two dramas, saying, that the concluding lines of Marlowe might also be applied to Faust's conduct and history.

Carlyle did not get any light from the Prologue in the discussion of his problem. No mention is made in the *résumé* either of the Prelude or the Prologue. Very likely he counted them among the "incoherent scenes" of which he spoke. He was interested especially in the character and fate of Goethe's hero. The titanic struggles of Faust appealed to him very strongly, as one may judge from his letter to Goethe quoted above. For him, therefore, the real drama began with Faust's monologue. In this criticism Carlyle also mentioned the necessity of an adequate translation of "Faust." He said that the sight of this performance by Boosey had renewed his wish to see "Faust" in an English dress. On this point he said further in substance: A suitable version of "Faust" would be a rich addition to our literature, but the difficulties which stand in the way of such an undertaking amount almost to an absolute veto. The extracts from Boosey were translated in blank verse. A prose translation would have been less unjust to the original, as it would have enabled the author to express the sense of the original with equal gracefulness and far more precision.

This statement may have influenced Hayward later to make his translation in prose. Carlyle himself translated the Curse in prose in this essay. Later this was changed to verse and sent to Goethe who had it printed in the *Chaos* in Weimar. It also appeared in the *Athenaeum* in 1832.¹²

This essay by Carlyle on "Faust" is of much interest to the retrospective student of to-day. It represents the beginning of his work for German literature in England. It was "Faust" that first attracted Carlyle to Goethe and the German muse in general. Naturally, his criticism is not as mature as it would have been if written at a later period of his German studies,

¹² This translation of Faust's Curse is printed in *Archiv* (1904), CXII, 388. Signed, Edinburgh, 1823. Printed first in *Ottilies Chaos, Wochenblatt, Manuskript für Freunde in Weimar*. Republished with several omissions in the *Athenaeum* 1832, p. 5. *Chaos* was printed only for private circulation.

but it does represent a distinct epoch in his development.¹³ Although he did not comprehend Goethe in all particulars, he showed a keen insight into the nature of the problem involved in "Faust." As evidence of this one can mention the fact that he almost read from the character of Faust what Goethe intended to make clear by the Prologue—namely, that Faust is to be saved. Since Carlyle did not understand the ending of Part First, his criticism was that the conclusion was not in harmony with Faust's character. Carlyle's general appreciation of Goethe's masterpiece is indicated when he said in prophetic mood: "Goethe is likely to figure in after ages as one of the most remarkable characters of his time; and posterity will derive from this tragedy their most lively impressions, both of his peculiar excellences and defects."

During the next few years of Carlyle's activity there is only an occasional reference to "Faust." In 1827 he published his essay on the "State of German Literature" in the *Edinburgh Review*. He took an interest in "Helena" immediately after its publication in 1827, and the following year he published an article on "Helena" in the *Foreign Review*.¹⁴ He considered "Helena" difficult reading, requiring careful study for its understanding and appreciation. He gave a careful *résumé*, interspersed with copious translations, chiefly in blank verse. The article is preceded by an introduction in which he expressed emphatically his dissatisfaction with the translations and criticisms of "Faust" that had appeared in England. The mutilated translations and the performance at London, in a form deviating very much from the original, irritated him and prompted the statement that "Faust" was by no means known in England.

It is interesting to note how Carlyle had now arrived at a better understanding of the character of Faust and of the drama as a whole. In his first essay on "Faust" he had expressed the belief that, according to his understanding of

¹³ This essay should have been included in the "Goetheportraet" recently published by Saenger. See, "Thomas Carlyles Goetheportraet, nachgezeichnet von Samuel Saenger," Berlin, 1907.

¹⁴ *Foreign Review and Continental Miscellany* (1828), Vol. I, p. 429, "Essays," Vol. I, p. 171.

the drama, Goethe did not intend to save his hero, but he was not satisfied with the ending. He now knew that Goethe's plan was by no means complete. His previous attitude is clear from the following quotation from his essay on "Helena": "We question whether it ever occurred to any English reader of 'Faust,' that the work needed a continuation or even admitted one."¹⁵ This was the feeling that possessed Carlyle and other Englishmen after reading "Faust" without any reference to the Prologue. Now that he has got a glimpse of the continuation of "Faust" as it lay in Goethe's mind, there open to him broader vistas of the poetical possibilities of the theme, and the solution of the moral problem. He now knew that it could not be a drama of sin and damnation. One quotation will suffice to show this clearer understanding:

"A high problem; and of which the solution is yet far from completed; nay perhaps, in a poetical sense, is not, strictly speaking, capable of completion. For it is to be remarked that, in this contract with the Prince of Darkness, little or no mention or allusion is made to a future life; whereby it might seem as if the action was not intended in the manner of the old legend, to terminate in Faust's perdition; but rather as if an altogether different end must be provided for him. Faust, indeed, wild and wilful as he is, cannot be regarded as a wicked, much less as an utterly reprobate man: we do not reckon him ill-intentioned, but misguided and miserable; he falls into crime, not by purpose, but by accident and blindness. To send him to the Pit of Woe, to render such a character the eternal slave of Mephistopheles, would look like making darkness triumphant over light, blind force over erring reason; or at best were cutting the Gordian Knot, not loosing it. If we mistake not, Goethe's 'Faust' will have a finer moral than the old nursery tale, or the other plays and tales that have been founded on it. Our seared and blighted, yet still noble Faust will not end in the madness of horror, but in Peace grounded on better knowledge. . . . 'Faust' as it yet stands, is, indeed, only a stating of the difficulty."¹⁶ What the final outcome

¹⁵ *Loc. cit.*, p. 191.

¹⁶ *Loc. cit.*, p. 188.

would be he left to the future. He refrained from discussing the relation of "Helena" to the whole "Faust," because Goethe was engaged in writing the Second Part, and its completion had to be awaited.

What "Faust" was to Carlyle as an expression of his innermost thoughts and feelings, one can glean from the following passage of the essay on "Helena," which reminds one strongly of the first letter he wrote to Goethe in which he referred to "Faust": "For how many living hearts, ever now imprisoned in the perplexities of doubt, do these wild piercing tones of Faust, his withering agonies and fiery desperation, speak the word they have long been waiting to hear. A nameless pain had long brooded over the soul: here by some light touch, it starts into form and voice; we see it and know it, and see that another also knew it. This 'Faust' is a mystic oracle for the mind; a Dodona grove, where the oaks and fountains prophesy to us of our destiny, and murmur unearthly secrets."

Goethe was highly pleased with Carlyle's treatment of "Helena," and in a letter to Carlyle of June 15, 1828,¹⁷ he expressed his appreciation. As "Helena" had at the same time been reviewed in France and Russia, Goethe expressed himself in regard to the three reviews as follows: "The Scot seeks to penetrate the work, the Frenchman to understand it, and the Russian to appropriate it. These three have thus, without preconceived intention, represented all the categories of interest that may be taken in a work of art."¹⁸

Carlyle's success with "Helena" prompted Goethe, through his secretary Eckermann, to encourage him to undertake a complete translation of "Faust." Eckermann wrote to Carlyle, June 15, 1828: "I hope you have translated the whole 'Helena' and will proceed to do the like with the remainder of the new 'Faust.' The old part, too, which you so well understand, can, I am sure, find no better translator than yourself."¹⁹

¹⁷ "Correspondence," p. 99.

¹⁸ These articles on "Helena" appeared in the *Foreign Review* (1828), No. 2, p. 430, *Le Globe*, Vol. VI, p. 209, and *Der Moskowitische Bote*, No. 21, p. 79. See "Goethes Werke, Jubiläums-Ausgabe," Vol. XXXVIII, p. 176.

¹⁹ "Correspondence," p. 109.

Carlyle, as has been mentioned, was indignant at the British versions of "Faust" by Gower, and also repeatedly expressed his wrath in his correspondence with Goethe. In a letter to Goethe November 15, 1830, he denounced Gower's translation and said: "I myself am sometimes meditating a translation of 'Faust' for which the English world is getting more and more prepared."²⁰ Eckermann replied to this letter December 6, 1830, telling Carlyle of the high hopes he entertained for the completion of the Second Part of "Faust": "It is no longer to be counted among the impossibilities." He again urged Carlyle to undertake a translation of "Faust," saying: "It is not indeed for me to offer advice, but if I were in your place, I should certainly undertake something for which my country would be grateful, by employing for some years my best leisure hours on a faithful translation of 'Faust.' The specimens of your 'Helena' have sufficiently shown, that you not only completely understand the German original, but have also your own language sufficiently at command to express in it the sentiment and meaning with grace and spirit."²¹

That Carlyle seriously considered the carrying out of this plan to translate "Faust," one can see from several of his letters. In writing to Goethe January 22, 1831, he said: "Pray tell him (Eckermann) also that his counsel and admonition about an English version of 'Faust' came in the right season; that I have already long been meditating such an enterprise, and had well-nigh determined before much time elapsed, on attempting it. The British world is daily getting readier for a true copy of 'Faust'; already we understand everywhere that 'Faust' is no theatrical spectacle, but a poem."²² He also wrote to Dr. Carlyle²³ in London, February 10, 1831: "I have undertaken at some future day to translate 'Faust.'"

Carlyle could not do the work at once on account of another project—the preparation of a history of German literature. In this work he also received encouragement and guidance

²⁰ "Correspondence," p. 240.

²¹ "Correspondence," p. 250.

²² "Correspondence," p. 254.

²³ "Letters, 1826-1836," Norton, Vol. I, p. 262.

from Goethe. In a letter to Goethe dated May 23, 1830, he gave the outline to this history of German literature in detail.²⁴ Strange as it may seem, Carlyle was unable to find a publisher for his manuscript. Boyd, who had published his translation of "Wilhelm Meister," refused the work. It is probable that he did not realize enough financially from "Wilhelm Meister."²⁵ One can get an idea of Carlyle's troubles in this matter from his correspondence. He wrote to his mother, September 28, 1830: "Jeffrey insisted on taking my unfortunate MS. (of German literary history) with him to Edinburgh, that he might read it and see whether he could find a publisher for it. I expect to hear some tidings about this very soon, but hardly that he will be successful; indeed, now that I have made up my mind, I care next to nothing whether or not."²⁶

He was not to be successful with the manuscript, as may be seen from a letter to Dr. Carlyle of February 10, 1827,²⁷ and that was the chief obstacle which prevented him from undertaking a translation of "Faust." At any rate nothing more is heard of the plan, and later, when Hayward, Blackie and others published their translations of "Faust," it was abandoned. The death of Goethe intervened soon after, and the source of Carlyle's personal inspiration was cut off. After this, there was a gradual diminution of his interest in German literature. He felt that his work in this direction had been accomplished and then he turned his attention to other matters. On May 6, 1834, he wrote to Eckermann: "As to my own England, my mission, in so far as it can be called my mission, may be regarded as fulfilled; as witness merely this, that we have had within the last twelve months no fewer than three new translations of 'Faust,' of which two appeared in Edinburgh on one and the same day. In truth, the fire is kindled, and we have

²⁴ "Correspondence," p. 187, and Streuli, p. 56.

²⁵ Carlyle's translation of "Wilhelm Meister" was seriously injured by the very unfavorable review of De Quincey in the *London Magazine* of 1824. Carlyle called it a "very vulgar and British review." De Quincey modified the article considerably before publishing it in his works.

²⁶ "Letters," Vol. I, p. 233.

²⁷ "Letters," Vol. I, p. 261. Cf. also, "Correspondence with Goethe," pp. 207 and 208.

enough smoke, and more than enough—there is here and there even a little flame,”²⁸ etc.

It remains to consider Carlyle's attitude toward the completed "Faust." He was interested in the progress of Part Second, for he wrote to Goethe, January 17, 1828: "Of 'Faust' I am taught to expect with confidence not only a continuation but a completion, and share in the general curiosity of Europe to see what it is."²⁹ The final fate of Goethe's hero is a matter of great importance to him. He expressed this in a letter to Goethe, August 20, 1827, apropos of a reference to "Helena," saying: "Could mere human prayers prevail against an esthetic necessity, Faust were surely made triumphant both over the fiend and himself, and this by the readiest means; the one would go to heaven, and the other back to his native pit: for there is no tragic hero whom one pities more deeply than Faust."³⁰

When the Second Part appeared, Carlyle no doubt read it with avidity. One can get a glimpse of his feeling on this occasion from a letter he wrote to Mrs. Sarah Austin, January 13, 1833:³¹ "The Faust, Second Part, I read with such interest as you may fancy. . . . I consider the whole play, as now completed, as a thing wide, wide before me, and deep; into which I have not seen half-way. . . . Happily the plan, the noble Idea, can be deciphered there, not feeble or old, but young forever."

His interest in the Second Part increased, and later he placed it above Part First. Blackie had sent a copy of his translation to Carlyle and received a letter of thanks, April 28, 1834. In this letter, Carlyle took occasion to dissent from Blackie in his views of the Second Part of "Faust." He also expressed himself further in regard to Goethe's poem, saying: "Could you but have as much tolerance for me in this new heresy, which I, alas! feel growing upon me of late years, that 'Faust' is intrinsically but a small poem, perhaps the smallest

²⁸ "Correspondence," p. 340.

²⁹ "Correspondence," p. 67.

³⁰ "Correspondence," p. 33.

³¹ "Memoirs of Mrs. Sarah Austin." London, 1893, p. 103.

of Goethe's main works; recommending itself to the sorrow-struck skeptical feeling of these times, but for Time at large of very limited value! Such, I profess not without reluctance, is the sentiment that has long breathed in me; moreover, of the two I find considerably more meaning in the Second Part! *Favete linguis*. At the same time I can well enter into your enthusiasm, and again read 'Faust' along with you like a new apocalypse, for in that way I read it once already."³²

Thus Carlyle, one year after its publication, took more interest in the Second Part of "Faust," because it had "more meaning" for him. He was fascinated by the wealth of ideas of the great poet in the full development of his years. Like Carlyle, many other eminent men have come to relish Part Second far more than the tragedy of sin and suffering portrayed in Part First. What Carlyle said of "Faust" in general, must represent only a temporary mood, which he is pleased to call a "heresy." For "Faust" interested him many years after, although he was in later life busied more with historical and sociological projects. As late as 1873 he was occupying himself with "Faust," and this time more particularly with the Second Part. He wrote to Dr. Carlyle, September 20, 1873: "I have also got a number of books, all the critical pamphlets about Goethe's 'Faust' that are in the library, and have sent for the others, while diligently reading those on hand. . . . But I feel not yet to have done with Part Second, nor probably shall have for some little while."³³ In this way Carlyle is found fifty years after he first read Part First, employed in the study of the Second Part of Goethe's poem, with the prospect of much enjoyment to be received from it during the remainder of his days.

The strong influence that Goethe's "Faust" exerted on Carlyle's works has been well set forth by Kraeger in his essay. He shows this in detail by citing a number of parallel passages, which indicate direct influence of thought and language. The instances referring to "Faust" are given on pages 259-264.

³² "John Stuart Blackie. A Biography," by Anna Stoddart. Edinburgh and London, 1895, Vol. I, p. 147.

³³ "New Letters," edited by Alex. Carlyle, London, 1894, Vol. II, p. 299. Cf. also, "Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Thomas Carlyle," by R. H. Shepherd, London, 1881, Vol. II, p. 301.

2. Samuel Taylor Coleridge

One need hardly refer here to the familiarity of Coleridge with the German language and German life. He spent about nine months in Germany in the years 1798-9. According to his own statement his "chief efforts were directed towards a grounded knowledge of the German language and literature."³⁴ He was also strongly influenced by German philosophy, its traces being perceptible throughout his works. While in Germany he made collections for a history of German *belles-lettres* before the time of Lessing, and also extensive preparations for a biography of Lessing himself. Neither of these projects was later executed, but Coleridge's stay in Germany was none the less fruitful of good results. He came so strongly under the spell of German philosophy and literature that his friend, Henry Crabb Robinson, said of him: "There is no doubt that Coleridge's mind is much more German than English."³⁵

Being thus equipped with an excellent knowledge of German, he was eminently qualified to bring the literature of Germany to the attention of his countrymen. He was in reality much better prepared than Carlyle to act as an apostle of German literature and culture, and he could have interested the English people twenty years earlier than Carlyle. If he had done so, much of the misapprehension concerning German literature that prevailed in England for many years, might have been averted. But Coleridge's lukewarm reception of many of the productions of the German muse, especially those of Goethe, was a great obstacle to their appreciation by his countrymen. His aloofness was to them proof positive that there was little of genuine merit in German literature.

Coleridge's position is explained by his dislike of Goethe. Schiller was rated far higher than Goethe by Coleridge, or rather, as Robinson expressed³⁶ it, he set Goethe far below Schiller. He granted Goethe "exquisite taste" only, but

³⁴ "Samuel Taylor Coleridge." By Jas. Dykes Campbell. London, 1896, p. 97.

³⁵ "Diary of H. C. Robinson," Vol. I, p. 226.

³⁶ "Diary," Boston, 1870, Vol. II, pp. 7 and 480. See, also, the last part of the "Table Talk" of February 16, 1833.

denied him "principle and religion." In Schiller, he therefore took more active interest. He was strongly affected by the "Robbers," and regarded "Wallenstein," which he translated in 1800, as Schiller's best play.

Since Coleridge was prejudiced against Goethe, a full appreciation of "Faust" cannot be expected of him. He always assumed a somewhat passive attitude toward Goethe's poem. His earliest utterances on "Faust" are found in the Diary of H. C. Robinson of the year 1812.³⁷ Robinson says: "I read to him (Coleridge) a number of scenes out of the new 'Faust.' He had before read the earlier edition. He now acknowledged the genius of Goethe as he had never before acknowledged it. At the same time the want of religion and enthusiasm in Goethe is in Coleridge's estimation an irreparable defect. The beginning of 'Faust' did not please Coleridge. Nor does he think Mephistopheles a character. He had, however, nothing satisfactory to oppose to my remark that Mephistopheles ought to be a mere abstraction, and no character. I read to Coleridge the Zueignung, and he seemed to admire it greatly. . . . The Prologue to 'Faust' did not offend Coleridge as I thought it would from its being a parody on Job." A week later the conversation with Coleridge on "Faust" is continued: "More talk with Coleridge about 'Faust.' The additions in the last edition he thinks the finest parts. He objects that the character of 'Faust' is not *motivirt*. He would have it explained how he is thrown into a state of mind which led to the catastrophe. . . . C. talks of writing a new 'Faust.'"³⁸

Robinson's statement that Coleridge had read the "earlier edition," seems to prove that he possessed and read the "Fragment." It has been a question whether the meter of "Christabel," written in 1797 and 1800, could be attributed to "Faust" influence.³⁹ If Coleridge was interested in the "Fragment" and read it before he wrote "Christabel," that might be the case. But it cannot be ascertained whether Coleridge saw the

³⁷ "Diary," Vol. I, p. 254. August 13 and 20.

³⁸ This was "Michael Scott." Cf. "Table Talk" of February 16, 1833.

³⁹ Cf. Haney, "German Influence on S. T. Coleridge," Philadelphia, 1892, p. 24. Also *Edinburgh Review* (1835), Vol. LXI, p. 146.

"Fragment" before he went to Germany. When Coleridge expressed his dislike of the beginning of "Faust," he no doubt referred to the Prologue (in spite of the fact that Robinson did not get this impression). Robinson had expected that Coleridge would be offended by the Prologue, and he probably was, although he did not wish to express it bluntly to Robinson, who was very enthusiastic about "Faust." What he terms the "want of religion" in "Faust" is intimately connected with this. That Coleridge had an unfavorable opinion of the Prologue, is borne out by a later reference to "Faust" in which he said that some of the language was "blasphemous."

In speaking of the character of Faust as not *motivirt*, Coleridge wished to indicate the desirability of informing the reader how Faust arrived at the state of mind in which we find him in the first monologue. The preliminary experiences which led up to this condition, he thought, should form a part of the drama. Why did Faust take to magic? Coleridge expressed the same thought later in his "Table Talk"⁴⁰ when he called Faust a "ready-made conjurer from the beginning." Goethe has indicated briefly in the opening monologue what Coleridge felt lacking in the drama. The experiences of "zehen Jahr" are here compressed into very few lines, and yet it is done with such vividness that one gets a good picture of the nature of Faust's academic life, immediately preceding the time when he seeks to find relief in magic.

In 1814 Murray, a London publisher, tried to induce Coleridge to translate "Faust." It is probable that Robinson suggested him to Murray as the best man to render "Faust" in English. At any rate, the offer came to Coleridge by way of Robinson and Lamb.⁴¹ Coleridge thereupon wrote to Murray in regard to the proposition. After dwelling upon the difficulties of a translation and his inability to overcome them, he finally stated that he was willing to undertake the translation and asked for Murray's terms. Incidentally he said in this letter that the "Luise" of Voss and the "Faust" of Goethe are the two German poems, if not the only ones, "that are

⁴⁰ "Table Talk" of February 16, 1833.

⁴¹ Lucas, "Works of Lamb," Vol. VI, p. 440. ,

emphatically original in their conception, and characteristic of a new and peculiar sort of thinking and imagining. . . . If you were to ask me as a friend whether I think it would suit the general taste (*i. e.*, a translation of 'Faust') I should reply that I can not calculate on caprice and accident (for instance, some fashionable man or review happening to take it up favorably) but that otherwise my fears would be stronger than my hopes. Men of genius will admire it of necessity. Those must who think deepest and most imaginatively."⁴²

To this letter Murray replied August 29, 1814,⁴³ saying that he was desirous of making the experiment of putting a "Faust" translation on the market, even though its effects upon the public mind would be doubtful. He offered Coleridge £100 for the translation and a preliminary analysis. Coleridge had told Murray in his letter that a translation without a good introduction would be useless. Murray also offered to send the works of Goethe to assist Coleridge in the translation and commentary. He advised Coleridge, however, not to undertake the translation unless he felt disposed to execute the labor perfectly *con amore*, and in a style of versification equal to "Remorse." Coleridge replied August 31, 1814, that he was willing to do the work, but called the terms "humiliatingly low" if one would consider the necessary labor, and the risk of character on the part of the translator, who has to answer for any disappointment of the readers. He also referred to the questionable nature of the original work, both as to its claims for fame, and as to its chance for reputation as an accidental result of local and temporary fame.

Murray's reply to this letter of Coleridge has not been preserved. It cannot be ascertained whether a bargain was made. At any rate nothing came of the whole project. Coleridge never translated "Faust." The half-hearted way in which he accepted Murray's terms, and the objections he made, did not augur well for a successful translation. For this reason Mur-

⁴² "Letters of S. T. Coleridge," edited by E. H. Coleridge, London, 1895, Vol. II, p. 624.

⁴³ "Memoirs of the late John Murray," by Samuel Smiles, London, 1891, Vol. I, p. 297. Cf. also, *Athenæum*, April 18, 1891, p. 505.

ray probably did not care to go on with the plans. The reasons can partly be gleaned from Coleridge's own utterances. He was convinced that men of genius must admire "Faust," but he feared the verdict of the public. He even suspected that the character of the translator might suffer by rendering "Faust." In these misgivings Coleridge was under the influence of Lamb, who advised him not to translate⁴⁴ "Faust." As Coleridge thought a great deal of Lamb's judgment, this naturally acted as a deterrent upon him. Besides, Coleridge was only too familiar with the exigencies of the book-trade in England. He had in mind, too, the financial failure of his "Wallenstein," to which he reverted in his letters. He wrote to Sotheby, September 10, 1802, that Longman had lost £250 on "Wallenstein," £50 of which had been paid him for the translation. "I am sure," he said, "that Longman never thinks of me but 'Wallenstein' and the ghosts of his departed guineas dance an ugly waltz around my idea."⁴⁵

The only further utterance of Coleridge on "Faust" is the well-known passage in his "Table talk" of February 16, 1833. He reasserts there that he himself at one time had a Faust-drama in mind to be called "Michael Scott."⁴⁶ He was to be a much better character than Faust, and was not to love knowledge for itself, but in order to be powerful. He was to take to witchcraft and call the devil. That character was to be much like Goethe's—a universal humorist. The outline of the drama was to be as follows: Michael becomes miserable and throws himself into sensual excesses. He meets Agatha (Coleridge's Margaret) and attempts to seduce her. The devil facilitates their meetings and while Agatha loves Michael she remains firm. Tearful conflicts between Michael and the devil ensue, after which, as Coleridge says, "I made him triumphant, and poured peace into his soul in the conviction of a salvation for sinners through God's grace."

This shows that Coleridge was not satisfied with the conclusion to Part First of Goethe's drama. It is probable that he

⁴⁴ Cf. *infra*, p. 76.

⁴⁵ "Letters," Vol. I, p. 403.

⁴⁶ Cf. *supra*, p. 64.

had not yet read Part Second when he made his criticism of "Faust." Since he had taken no special interest in Goethe for years, he did not look forward to the publication of the Second Part. There is nothing on record to show his opinion of the completed "Faust." When he described the conclusion to his "Michael Scott," he voiced the feelings of a large number of the Englishmen of his time as to what the conclusion of a drama like "Faust" should be.

It will not be necessary to quote in its entirety the criticism of Coleridge in his "Table Talk," since it is easily accessible everywhere. The principal part of the remainder of his adverse views may be grouped under two heads: The loose dramatic structure of "Faust," and the change in the character of Goethe's hero, or as Coleridge expressed it, that "the sensuality and the thirst for knowledge are not connected with each other." Both of these criticisms have some justification. In regard to the first point, "Faust" is by no means perfect in dramatic structure. Coleridge said: "The scenes are mere magic-lantern pictures." The partial lack of coherence to which Coleridge referred, is due in great measure to the manner in which "Faust" was composed. It is the product of many varied periods and moods of Goethe's life. But if one views the completed poem of 1832, this incoherence is only apparent. If Coleridge had been familiar with both parts of "Faust," he probably would not have said: "There is no whole in the poem." As to the second point, the change in the character of Faust, this is a common criticism of Coleridge and Lamb, and will be referred to in the treatment of Lamb's views.

But Coleridge's criticism is not entirely unfavorable. While Faust seems to him "dull and meaningless," he thought Mephistopheles excellent. The songs in the poem appealed to him especially, and the language used by Goethe he called "very pure and fine." Of the various scenes, the Walpurgis-Night and Auerbach's Cellar attracted him most. In concluding this criticism of "Faust," Coleridge told how he was pressed many years back to translate "Faust." He gave as his reasons for refusing to do so, that he wanted to write a work much along the same line—"Michael Scott," and second,

that he was in doubt whether it became his moral character to translate "Faust," in which much of the language was in his opinion vulgar, licentious, and blasphemous. The objections to the language of "Faust" refer without doubt chiefly to the Prologue. At first thought it seems strange that Coleridge could lend his approval to the idiotic objections that were raised to this part of "Faust," especially since he had enjoyed the liberalizing influence of German university study and was familiar with the spirit of German works. But in spite of this, he was bound up to a great extent in the ecclesiastical orthodoxy of his day, and that accounts in large measure for his adverse views.

3. *Lord Byron*

Byron's knowledge of the German language was very limited. Maychrazk states in his essay on "Lord Byron als Übersetzer,"⁴⁷ that he made an attempt to learn German, probably while at Harrow, reading Gessner's "Abel" with his German teacher, but his studies did not progress far enough to give him a reading knowledge of the language. In his "Conversations with Medwin," Byron referred to this, saying: "When I was a boy I studied German, which I have now entirely forgotten. It was very little I ever knew of it."⁴⁸ He again mentioned his ignorance of the German language in his diary, January 12, 1821, deploring the fact that he could read German authors only in translations. Byron said: "I must premise, however, that I have read nothing of Adolph Müllner's (the author of 'Guilt') and much less of Goethe, Schiller, and Wieland than I could wish. I only know them through the medium of English, French, and Italian translations. Of the real language I know absolutely nothing—except oaths, learned from postilions and officers in a squabble,⁴⁹ etc."

That Byron admired Goethe greatly is a well-known fact, and Goethe also had a very high opinion of Byron's genius.

⁴⁷ "Lord Byron als Übersetzer." Leipzig, 1896. Reprinted from, *Englische Studien*, Vols. XXI and XXII.

⁴⁸ "Medwin, Conversations," London, 1824, p. 185.

⁴⁹ "Letters and Journals," London, 1898, etc., Vol. V, p. 171.

Byron voices his regard for Goethe in his "Conversations": "I mean," said he, "to dedicate 'Werner' to Goethe. I look upon him as the greatest genius the age has produced." He again paid a similar tribute to Goethe in a letter to the Weimar poet written from Leghorn, July 24, 1823,⁵⁰ in which he said that Goethe had for fifty years been the "undisputed sovereign of European literature."

Goethe's "Faust" exerted a strong influence on Byron. To trace this influence in his writings would be aside from the purpose of this study. The object is to give here Byron's opinion of "Faust," to trace how he gained a knowledge of it and how, in a general way, it affected him. Since Byron could not read German, his knowledge of "Faust" came to him at second hand. Monk Lewis first translated it for him *vivâ voce* in 1816. The next year, April 4, Byron wrote from Venice to Samuel Rogers: "I forgot to tell you that last autumn I furnished Lewis with bread and salt for some days at Diodati, in reward for which (besides his conversations) he translated Goethe's 'Faust' to me by word of mouth."⁵¹ Byron's genius drank in the poetic richness of Goethe's poem. The underlying ideas became part and parcel of his being, to be later incorporated in his own works.⁵²

He felt that he was missing much by not being able to read Goethe's works in the original. In his conversations at Pisa, (1820-21) he exclaimed: "I would give the world to read 'Faust' in the original. I have been urging Shelley to translate it; but he said that the translator of 'Wallenstein' was the only person living who could venture to attempt it; for a man to translate it, he must think as he does."⁵³ Byron also said in the same letter that he would give £100 to any person who would translate "Dichtung und Wahrheit" for his own reading. His continued interest in "Faust" is shown in a letter to Murray from Pisa, December, 1821, where he said:⁵⁴

⁵⁰ "Letters and Journals," Vol. V, p. 518.

⁵¹ "Letters and Journals," Vol. IV, p. 97.

⁵² Knobbe, A. "Die Faustidee in Lord Byrons Dichtungen," Programm, Stralsund, 1906. Reviewed, *Englische Studien* (1907), Vol. XXXVIII, p. 98.

⁵³ "Conversations at Pisa," Medwin, London, 1824, p. 413.

⁵⁴ "Letters and Journals," Vol. V, p. 488.

"Are there not designs from 'Faust'? Send me some and a translation of it—if such there is. Also of Goethe's *Life* if such there be; if not the original German."

All these expressions show his desire for a more intimate knowledge of Goethe's poem. He had imbibed much from the verbal translation of Monk Lewis, but that did not fully satisfy him. He felt his poetic kinship with Goethe and thoroughly understood the storms that raged in the soul of Faust. He loved to compare himself with Goethe. In his conversations he said: "I have a great curiosity about everything relating to Goethe, and please myself with thinking there is some analogy between our characters and writings."⁵⁵

The work of Byron in which the influence of Goethe's "Faust" is most evident is "Manfred," which was published in 1817. Goethe read the poem the same year. It was brought to him by a young American,⁵⁶ October 11, 1817. The numerous references in Goethe's diary⁵⁷ show the great interest he took in the poem. On the thirteenth of October, Goethe expressed his opinion on the relation of "Manfred" to "Faust" in a letter to Knebel.⁵⁸ This statement corresponds with the review of "Manfred" published in "*Kunst und Altertum*" in 1820. In the English translation of Moore, the principle part of this review reads as follows: "Byron's tragedy, 'Manfred,' was to me a wonderful phenomenon, and one that closely touched me. This singular intellectual poet has taken my 'Faustus' to himself, and extracted from it the strongest nourishment for his hypochondriac humor."

The relation of Byron to Goethe, with special reference to "Manfred" and "Faust," has been treated by Alois Brandl.⁵⁹ The extent to which Goethe was correct in speaking of Byron's obligations to "Faust" is there well brought out, in the light of the material that the opening of the Goethe-Schiller *Archiv* disclosed. Brandl shows that the parallel of plot and character in "Faust" and "Manfred" is limited to the introductory

⁵⁵ Medwin, *loc. cit.*, p. 413.

⁵⁶ This was Mr. Lyman of Boston. Gräf, p. 244.

⁵⁷ Gräf, p. 245.

⁵⁸ "Werke, W. A." Part 4, Vol. XXVIII, p. 277.

⁵⁹ *Goethe-Jahrbuch*, Vol. XX, pp. 3-37.

scene of "Faust"—the imitation extending to the disappearance of the Earth Spirit. Goethe, according to Brandl, is right, however, in the main—that in "Manfred" for the first time after "Faust" the subject of a skeptical soul in its insatiable desire to attain its superhuman object of love, is treated. And that was most important in Goethe's mind—the borrowing of this thought, and not verbal parallelism. What may be added to Brandl's treatment is a brief discussion of the English point of view in this matter. To them it was a real "Faust-Manfred" controversy. They took Goethe too literally in his statements. Some defended Byron from what they deemed an unjust accusation of plagiarism. Others, who did not fancy some of Byron's productions, took this opportunity to vilify him. News of what Goethe had written to Knebel in regard to "Manfred" and "Faust" reached Byron's ears soon after, for he mentioned it in a letter from Venice, to John Murray, October 23, 1817. He also spoke there of the accusation made against him in England, that his "Manfred" was copied after Marlowe's "Faustus." Byron said in this letter: "It is odd that they should say that it was taken from Marlowe's 'Faustus,' which I never read nor saw. An American who came the other day from Germany told Mr. Hobhouse that 'Manfred' was taken from Goethe's 'Faust.' The devil may take both Faustuses, German and English,—I have taken neither."⁶⁰

In 1820, when Goethe published his critique of "Manfred" in "Kunst und Altertum," Byron again spoke of it in his correspondence. He wrote to Murray that he would enclose an opinion on his "Manfred" by the greatest man of Germany—perhaps of Europe.⁶¹ Further he said: "The opinions of such a man like Goethe, whether favorable or not, are always interesting—and this is more so, as favorable. His 'Faust' I never read, for I don't know German; but Matthew Monk Lewis, in 1816, at Coligny, translated most of it to me *vivâ voce*, and I was naturally much struck with it; but it was the *Staubbach* and the *Jungfrau*, and something else, much more

⁶⁰ "Letters and Journals," Vol. IV, p. 177.

⁶¹ "Letters and Journals," Vol. V, p. 36.

than *Faustus*, that made me write *Manfred*." Byron, it seems, was not wrought up over Goethe's utterance concerning "Manfred" like most of his English friends. He apparently understood Goethe better than they did. To him Goethe's remarks were "favorable." He denied having taken anything directly from "Faust." All that he was willing to admit he expressed in the conclusion to his letter when he said: "The first scene, however, and that of *Faustus* are very similar." And this, according to Brandl, is all the similarity in plot that can be proven.

Later in his conversations with Medwin he again disclaimed that his "Manfred" had any vital connection with "Faust." He said there that he knew "Faust" only from a sorry French translation,⁶² from the readings of Monk Lewis, and from the Harz Mountain scene which Shelley versified. He continued: "Nothing I envy him (Shelley) so much as to be able to read that astonishing production in the original. As to originality, Goethe has too much sense to pretend that he is not under obligation to authors, ancient and modern; who is not?"⁶³ This remark was made by Byron in response to English criticism rather than to Goethe.

Most of the English critics discussed the question in a sane way. *Blackwood's Magazine* thought Goethe correct in what he said about "Manfred."⁶⁴ It went on: "We cannot indeed avoid assenting to Goethe's supposition that 'Faustus' suggested Lord Byron's wonderful drama, 'Manfred.'" Beyond this it was not willing to admit any influence of "Faust." The *London Magazine* came to Byron's rescue and defended him from his accusers, saying: "We are far from joining some of the traducers of Lord Byron in calling his work a mere copy. Such an accusation, the offspring of envy and malignity, scarcely stands in need of refutation; not to mention many of the reasons against it, we may observe, that the combination made by the English poet of two moral phenomena—viz., the power of remorse, and self-contempt for experiencing it—is one

⁶² Madame de Staël's extracts.

⁶³ "Letters and Journals," Vol. V, p. 510.

⁶⁴ *Blackwood's Magazine* (1820), Vol. VII, p. 239.

perfectly new, the honor of which is solely due to Lord Byron. . . . whatever may have been the effect of the German drama on the mind of Lord Byron, 'Manfred' may justly claim the title of a grand and independent conception."⁶⁵

Carlyle, in his essay on "Faust," mentioned in conclusion the "Faust-Manfred" controversy. He was inclined to take Goethe's remarks too literally. He said in substance, that Goethe's charge of plagiarism had given him pain; that it was unworthy of Goethe because it showed too much of the author and too little of the man. Goethe, great poet that he was, need not higggle with Byron in regard to "Manfred." "Faust" and "Manfred" are related to each other, and if "Faust" had not seen the light, neither in all probability would "Manfred." "Faust" does not appear as a parent, but as a forerunner to "Manfred." Man's connection with the invisible world is the same in both, but there is a difference in the characters of Faust and Manfred. Manfred is more potent and less tragical, less impetuous and passionate than Faust, and the feeling of remorse is added to that of the uncertainty of human knowledge.

This represents the real connection that exists between the two poems. Carlyle did not understand Goethe, however, if he took Goethe's remarks as an accusation of plagiarism on the part of Byron. What Goethe meant—that the underlying idea of "Faust" suggested "Manfred"—Carlyle stated himself when he defined the relation between the two productions. That Goethe did not wish to be understood as having accused Byron of literary theft, is clear from a remark that he made in later years in conversation with Fürst von Pückler⁶⁶ in which he emphatically denied that "Manfred" is a direct imitation of "Faust."

4. *Walter Scott*

The circumstances that surrounded the beginning of Scott's interest in the German language and literature have been touched upon in the introductory chapter. He himself tells in his "Essay on the Imitations of the ancient Ballad" how the lecture of Mackenzie on the German drama before the Royal

⁶⁵ *London Magazine* (1820), Vol. II, p. 141.

⁶⁶ Biedermann, "Gespräche," Vol. V, p. 308.

Society of Edinburgh brought German literature to his attention and prompted him to begin the difficult task of learning German. He never attained a complete understanding of that tongue, however, as is shown by his translations from the German, among which "Götz von Berlichingen" is the most important.⁶⁷ He was quite willing to acknowledge that he was deficient in German, and in later life showed a tendency to smile at some of his errors.

During his early life Scott was strongly under the spell of German influence. It is a well-known fact that he derived much inspiration and many suggestions from Goethe's early works. Traces of this influence are evident in a number of Scott's productions. But his early enthusiasm did not continue throughout his literary career. He was always on friendly terms with Goethe, however, and in later life was very proud to exchange several letters with him. Since he did not take much interest in the later works of Goethe, he was out of touch with Goethe's development, and naturally did not understand him as well as his countryman, Carlyle. It is no cause for surprise, therefore, that he did not happen to see the First Part of "Faust" until 1818. He borrowed a copy of "Faust" from Lockhart and in reporting this incident, Lockhart gives the only utterance of Scott on Goethe's poem that we possess. It reads as follows: "He (Scott) had observed a volume of a new edition of Goethe on my table—would I lend it to him for a little? He carried off the volume accordingly, and retreated with it to his den. It contained the 'Faust,' and I believe, in a more complete shape than he had before seen that masterpiece of his old favorite. When we met at breakfast, a couple of hours after, he was full of the poem—dwelt with enthusiasm on the airy beauties of its lyrics, the terrible pathos of the scene before the *Mater Dolorosa*, and the deep skill shown in the various subtle shadings of character between

⁶⁷ Cf. Blumenhagen, "Sir Walter Scott als Übersetzer." Diss. Rostock, 1900. Better than this essay for accurate information is the review by Hohlfeld, in *Studien zur vergleichenden Literaturgeschichte*, Vol. III, pp. 498-508. See also, M. Bernays, "Beziehungen Walter Scotts zu Goethe," in "Schriften zur Kritik und Literaturgeschichte." Stuttgart, 1895, pp. 31-96.

Mephistopheles and Margaret. He remarked, however, of the introduction (which I suspect was new to him) that blood would out—that, consummate artist as he was, Goethe was a German, and nobody but a German would ever have provoked a comparison with the book of Job, the grandest poem that was ever written. He added, that he suspected the end of the story had been left *in obscuro*, from despair to match the closing scene of our own Marlowe's "Dr. Faustus."⁶⁸

We see that Scott did not understand the importance of "Faust" as a world-poem. As he did not grasp the purpose of the Prologue, he was at a loss to explain the conclusion to the First Part of "Faust," and imagined a rivalry between Goethe and Marlowe in his "Faustus," a play that Goethe knew nothing about.

5. Charles Lamb

Lamb always affected a contempt for Goethe. He did not know any German, and received his limited knowledge of German works from translations. What he knew of "Faust" he owed to Madame de Staël's review and to Gower's English version. When Murray was negotiating with Coleridge in regard to a translation of "Faust," Lamb wrote to Coleridge, August 24, 1814: "I have been reading Madame de Staël on 'Germany.' An impudent clever woman. But if 'Faust' be no better than in her abstract of it, I counsel thee to let it alone. How canst thou translate the language of cat-monkeys? Fie on such fantasies."⁶⁹

Lamb had an aversion to the Faust-theme as such, quite independently of Goethe's drama. In his "Dramatic Specimens"⁷⁰ he gives a portion of Marlowe's "Faustus," and expresses the opinion in a note that a subject like "Faustus" must have been delectable food for such an atheist as Marlowe was reported to be. He thinks that Barrabas, the Jew, and

⁶⁸ "Memoirs of Sir Walter Scott," by J. G. Lockhart, London, 1900, Vol. III, p. 222.

⁶⁹ "Works of Lamb," Lucas, Vol. VI, p. 441.

⁷⁰ "Works," Lucas, Vol. IV, pp. 27-34.

"Faustus" are off-springs of a mind that delighted to dally with interdicted subjects.

In 1823 Lamb read Gower's translation of "Faust" which appeared in that year. On December 9, 1823, he wrote to Harrison Ainsworth, as follows, in regard to the impressions that he had received:⁷¹ "I read your magazines with satisfaction. I thoroughly agree with you as to the German 'Faust' as far as I can do justice to it from an English translation. 'Tis a disagreeable canting tale of seduction, which has nothing to do with the spirit of Faustus—Curiosity. Was the dark secret to be explored to the end in the seducing of a weak girl, which might have been accomplished by earthly agency? When Marlowe gives *his* Faustus a mistress, he flies him at Helen, flower of Greece, to be sure, and not a Miss Betsy, or Miss Sally Thoughtless."

These criticisms by Lamb illustrate the perverted ideas that were disseminated by Gower's mutilated translation and Madame de Staël's review. It was impossible for Lamb to gain from these a correct idea of "Faust," and the one redeeming feature in his criticism is, "as far as I can do justice to it from an English translation." One of the criticisms of Lamb: What has the tale of seduction to do with the spirit of the drama—Faust's curiosity? has some justification, and this change in the character of Faust also troubled Coleridge.⁷² Why does Faust, after having been engaged in the titanic struggle to satisfy his insatiable curiosity, change to a Don Juan? Goethe has motivated this change in the character of Faust by the scene, the Witch's Kitchen, and still it must be admitted that the unity and consistency of the character have thereby been to some extent endangered.

Lamb's attitude toward Goethe and his "Faust" remained unchanged. When Hayward's translation appeared in 1833, Lamb received a copy through the hands of Edward Moxon, the publisher, as may be seen from a letter written to Moxon the same year. Lamb said: "Dear M,— Many thanks for

⁷¹ "Works," Lucas, Vol. VII, p. 631.

⁷² Cf. *supra*, p. 68.

the books; the 'Faust' I will acknowledge to the author."⁷³ Lamb wrote a letter to the translator that has not been preserved, in which he again probably expressed his opinion of "Faust." Lucas, the editor of Lamb's works, says in a note: "Lamb's letter of thanks was said by the late Edmund Yates to be a very odd one. I have not seen it."

⁷³ "Works," Vol. VII, p. 904.

CHAPTER IV

THEORY OF TRANSLATION

I. *General Considerations*

Before turning to the discussion of the various English versions of "Faust" it will be in order to consider the problem of literary translation. The difficulties of translation are either general, as applying to any piece of literature whatever, or specific, with reference to the special work in hand. It is but to reiterate a familiar statement to say that all translating is difficult. The genius of the various languages differs. The words of one language frequently have no exact equivalent in another, and it is, therefore, at times, well-nigh impossible to reproduce fine shades of meaning. Then, if the production be a poem, the matter of form also presents special difficulties. As a result the translator is unable to give exactly in a foreign language what he finds in the original. An approximation can only be his goal. A compromise between the peculiarities of the two languages must be effected. The severe, exacting critic, of course, will say that all translation is inadequate, and will protest against any attempt to reproduce his favorite poem or other literary masterpiece in another tongue. But this is to ignore the purpose of a literary translation—to bring the literature of a language within the reach of foreigners who do not understand that tongue. Goethe defends translation from this standpoint in his correspondence with Carlyle, when he says¹: "Denn was man auch von der Unzulänglichkeit des Übersetzens sagen mag, so ist und bleibt es doch eins der wichtigsten Geschäfte in dem allgemeinen Weltwesen. Und so ist jeder Übersetzer anzusehen, dass er sich als Vermittler dieses allgemeinen geistigen Handels bemüht, und den Wechseltausch zu befördern zum Geschäft macht."

¹ "Correspondence between Goethe and Carlyle," p. 18.

The translator is accordingly to be viewed as a mediator between the author and the foreign reader. How to bring these two together, is the problem he has to solve. Goethe stated in his "Nachruf an Wieland"² that there are two maxims of translation: the one demands that the foreign author be brought to the position of the reader, so that the reader may view him as his own; the second demands of the reader that he approach the position and point of view of the foreign author. Schleiermacher, in his essay on translating,³ also mentions these two maxims, but says that they do not afford any guidance for the translator, as in its absolute meaning the first would be impracticable, and the second, if taken literally, does not belong to the province of translation. For to bring the author to meet the foreign reader, means, in its extreme sense, to get the poet to speak in a foreign tongue, as he would have done, if he had used that particular language. If the poet, for example, be a German and the reader English, he must be made to speak as an Englishman to the English. This is impracticable advice, because there is no one who is able to tell how a given poet would have spoken in a foreign language to foreign peoples. On the other hand, in order to bring the foreign reader to the position of the author, it would be necessary, in the ultimate meaning of this rule, that he master the language of the author. This would not be a question of translation, but of the acquirement of a foreign language by the reader.

Schleiermacher and others have pointed out that the more practical rule for the translator is, that both the reader and the foreign author must be transported to a common point of meeting, to a position apart from that which either one occupies by nature, and that will be the position of the translator. He is to bring them together in this translation. He will then indeed be a mediator who finds the common ground of the author and the foreign reader.

² "Werke, Jubiläums-Ausgabe," Vol. XXXVII, p. 22.

³ "Werke," Part 3, Vol. II, pp. 207-245. He does not refer to Goethe, however. Wieland died in 1813, and since Schleiermacher wrote his essay the same year, it is probable that neither knew of the statement of the other.

The translator, according to this view, must aim to give his reader such a picture and such an appreciation of the foreign masterpiece as that person enjoys who has completely mastered the foreign tongue. This thought was also expressed by Matthew Arnold when he said that a translation of Homer ought to have the same effect on the reader that a reading of the original has upon a Greek scholar like Professor Jowett, for example.⁴

In rendering literary masterpieces the question of the form the translation is to assume is important. This is especially true in the case of a poem, where form means so much. If substance only is desired, a poem may be rendered in prose, but that is not a real translation, as the peculiar excellences of great poems consist in their form as well as in their substance. Then it may be questioned whether a prose rendition of a poem is a translation at all. A. W. Schlegel denies this, and calls a prose translation of poetry, "poetischer Totschlag."⁵ As to the possibility of accuracy in a poetical translation, Schlegel says: "Ich wage zu behaupten, dass eine solche Übersetzung in gewissem Sinne noch treuer als die treueste prosaische sein könnte."⁶ On the other hand it has also been said that, while much is lost in a prose translation of poetry, nothing that is lost can be enjoyed without studying the language in which the poetry was written.⁷ This argument is based on the assumption that the form of a poem is so intimately bound up with the language that it is impossible to reproduce any of the melody of its versification in another tongue. If this is taken as absolute truth, then metrical translations of poetry should be discouraged. Still, there are excellent examples of metrical translations to refute this.

An absolute adherence to the form of the original would of course be impracticable, and possible only in rare cases in shorter poems. Humboldt, who was a successful translator of Greek masterpieces, says that fidelity to the original is to

⁴ "Works of Matthew Arnold." London, 1903, Vol. V, p. 156.

⁵ Haym, "Die Romantische Schule," zweite Auflage, Berlin, 1906, p. 167.

⁶ "Werke," Vol. VII, p. 62.

⁷ *The Examiner*, March 24, 1833, p. 180.

be demanded of the translator, that is, fidelity to the true character of the literary production, and not slavish adherence to the details of its form. He emphasizes, however, that too much attention can not be given to the metrical part of a poem.⁸ Among the successful translators in the modern languages who have followed this rule, the name of Freiligrath may be mentioned.⁹ He translated a number of English and French poems into German with fidelity to the spirit of the original, and imitated their form as consistently as the genius of the respective languages would admit.

In this connection the question of the qualifications of an ideal translator may be brought up. It goes without saying that he should have a thorough knowledge of the language he is to render. A deep and true poetic feeling, and a subtle sense for the nice distinctions in language and thought are also indispensable prerequisites. It has at times been argued that none but a genuine poet could translate a great poem.¹⁰ But experience has proven that very few great poets have made careful translations. They are tempted to embroider the thoughts of other writers with their own poetical fancies. Their own inspiration prevents that subordination of self which is necessary in a faithful translation. On the other hand, to have no poetic insight results in a much more lamentable failure.

The merits of the translations by great geniuses consist in their poetic power. They are certainly not to be spurned, although they do not do full justice to the author of the original. It is admitted, for example, that Coleridge did not follow Schiller closely in his "Wallenstein." He used what is sometimes termed the "compensatory method of translation," that is, he added to the text occasionally, or changed it to suit his own fancy. And it is for this reason that some have

⁸ Cf. Introduction to his Translation of "Agamemnon," Works, Berlin, 1843, Vol. III, pp. 1-32.

⁹ Cf. Dr. Kurt Richter. "Freiligrath als Übersetzer," Muncker, "Forschungen zur neueren Literaturgeschichte," No. 11, Berlin, 1899.

¹⁰ A. W. Schlegel, whose ideals of the art of translating were very high, speaks of a poetical translation as the writing of original poetry, as a new creation. Haym, "Die Romantische Schule," p. 785.

made bold to say that Coleridge's translation is superior to the original.¹¹ It is usually the case that men of moderate poetic genius are more apt to produce translations that have the true poetic ring, and yet do justice to the spirit of the original. An excellent translation is not accomplished without painstaking labor, and a great poet finds it difficult to suppress the inspiration of the moment and assiduously devote himself to this necessary drudgery.

2. *Difficulties of Translating "Faust"*

Turning now to the specific difficulties that are encountered in translating "Faust," the question of the nature of the two languages under consideration at once presents itself. Is translation from German to English fraught with special difficulties?

German and English are sister languages, and still, on account of their entirely separate development, and the unusually strong foreign influence on English, they represent a dissimilarity in structure which makes translation from one language to the other much harder than one upon first thought imagines. English affords the translator great wealth of vocabulary and phraseology, but being almost entirely stripped of its inflectional endings, and deprived of the facility to form new word-compounds, it suffers from an overabundance of short words. It is saved from becoming monosyllabic only by its long foreign words, especially those of Latin origin. In this process of simplification the English language has gained much in force, but it has lost correspondingly in elegance.¹² It is therefore much more inflexible than German, with its abundance of inflectional endings and its ability to form new word-compounds.

In translating from German, one of the problems that confronts the translator is, how to deal with the feminine rimes. To

¹¹ Walter Scott, for example, was of the opinion that Coleridge "made 'Wallenstein' far finer than he found it." Cf. "Samuel Taylor Coleridge," by James Dykes Campbell, London, 1894, p. 112, note.

¹² Cf. Jespersen, "Growth and Structure of the English Language." Leipzig, 1905, p. 6.

render a German poem in English blank verse would be comparatively easy, because the blank verse is indigenous to England. But rimed German poetry with its feminine endings is more difficult. In German these rimes are made up largely of the inflectional endings. English, as was mentioned, has practically done away with inflections and possesses, moreover, very few words that naturally form feminine rimes like "ever," "never," etc. If the translator from German to English wishes to imitate these rimes, he must have recourse to other methods in accomplishing his end.

If one scans the work of such a translator,¹³ it will be seen that his chief source for the double rimes in English is the present participle with its ending in "ing." Then the following come in order: the past tense and past participle of regular verbs with their ending "ed"; nouns ending in "ion"; combinations of words which give the effect of the feminine rime, like "know it," "show it." Then follow in order of usage the small quota of words in English which naturally form double rimes like "reason," "season," etc., that do not have the awkward effect of the continued repetition of rimes in "ing," "ed," and "ion," or of the word combinations.

To attempt a consistent imitation of the feminine rimes which are so natural to the German, is to do violence to the English language. The effect it produces upon the English ear is that of awkwardness and stiffness in the verse, instead of the smoothness of the original German. The person who has an ear for German rimes will not be deluded by the English substitute. The word-combinations to which such translators frequently have recourse to eke out the feminine rimes are especially awkward. It may be said by way of excuse for these translators, that the word-combinations in imitation of feminine rimes are used by Byron and the Brownings.¹⁴ But nevertheless, their use in translating can not be defended on this ground. They are not a usual characteristic of good English poetry, and no one will claim special elegance for them, even

¹³ For example, the American translations of "Faust," by Brooks and Bayard Taylor.

¹⁴ Byron in "Don Juan."

where they are used by great English poets. In a French or Italian translation the case is different. There the imitation of the feminine rimes would be in order, because they are natural to those languages.

Another difficulty that the "Faust" translator has to contend with is the great variety of its meters. Even if only Part First is taken into consideration, one finds there rimed iambic tetrameter, rimed iambic pentameter, blank verse, and a sprinkling of alexandrines.¹⁵ The latter occur most frequently in Faust's monologue in the Easter scene. Then, there is one scene in prose and the Dedication is written in the ottava-rima. Many of the lyrical passages also have their own peculiar meter, some with dactyls and anapests. If "Faust" is compared in this respect with other long poems like the "Iliad" or the "Divine Comedy," it shows many irregularities in form. These poems written in but one meter, present from the standpoint of form, a much more simple task for the translator. He is obliged to accustom himself to but one meter, while the translator of "Faust" must contend with many varieties, if he attempts to reproduce the form of the poem. Hence Matthew Arnold pronounced for a prose translation of "Faust," because in his opinion, it is composed of parts so disparate, that one translator is not likely to have the requisite gifts for poetically rendering all of them. But Homer's "Iliad" is written in one manner and as such it may find, as he says, a poetical translator so gifted and so trained as to be able to learn that one manner and reproduce it.¹⁶

But the linguistic difficulties of a "Faust" translation are not all summed up in the great variety of its meters. The language of "Faust" in its simplicity and directness, with its rhythm and music, is hard to reproduce. For above all, "Faust" is a poem as well as a play. A writer in *Blackwood's Magazine*¹⁷ finds in "Faust" "an exact transcript in the highest

¹⁵ See lines 674, 675 and 746, 747. These four lines are alexandrines, and between these two places there are seven others. For other instances, see Schroer, "Faust" Part First, p. 12, footnote.

¹⁶ "Works," London, 1903, Vol. V, p. 256.

¹⁷ *Blackwood's Magazine* (1840), Vol. XLVII, p. 223.

poetry of the language really used by men." The rhythm cannot be divorced from the meaning of the words in a poem like "Faust." Andrews, a writer in the *Atlantic Monthly*,¹⁸ refers in his discussion of Goethe's "Faust" to Wagner's elaborate theory of the marriage of music and meaning. He says that Wagner's theory of a musical atmosphere, enveloping and suggesting the characters is worked out in practice in Goethe's poem.

With all these difficulties confronting the translator, it is not to be wondered at that some of the men best qualified for the task, shrank from it, and others, like Hayward, decided that literal prose would be best for a translation of "Faust." This is reverting to the point already touched on—the advisability of prose translations of poetry. Goethe is sometimes quoted in favor of this method. He says in "Dichtung und Wahrheit": "I honor both rhythm and rime, by which poetry first becomes poetry; but the properly deep and radically effective—the truly developing and quickening is what remains of the poet when he is translated into prose. The inward substance then remains in its purity and fulness: which when it is absent, a dazzling exterior often deludes with the semblance of, and, when it is present, conceals."¹⁹ It is not to be forgotten, however, that Goethe in the "Notes to the West-Easterly Divan" speaks of other methods of translating than the prosaic, and awards the palm, not to the prose translation, nor to the paraphrase, which are mentioned there also, but to a third method which he would call "the highest and last, where one strives to make the translation identical with the original, so that one is not *instead* of the other but *in place* of the other."²⁰

And this highest method is the ideal that the literary translator should keep before himself. Great poets like Goethe draw nourishment from the substance of genuine poetry to enrich their imagination, and the matter of form is not so

¹⁸ *Atlantic Monthly* (1890), Vol. LXVI, p. 733.

¹⁹ Translation by Hayward. Cf. "Werke, Jubiläums-Ausgabe," Vol. XXIV, p. 56.

²⁰ "Werke, Jubiläums-Ausgabe," Vol. V, pp. 303-306.

important with them. Thus Byron found food in the *vivâ voce* translation of "Faust" by Monk Lewis. But the ideal reader that the translator should have in mind, is not a poet, and he needs the attractiveness of the form of the poem to captivate and hold his attention. And this is particularly true of a poem like "Faust" whose peculiar excellences consist in great part in the rhythm and harmony of its versification.

Even with such a high aim in view, many feel called to translate Goethe's "Faust" in poetical form who do not possess the requisite qualifications in imaginative talent and linguistic scholarship. Their work will be worthless or mediocre, both from the standpoint of verse and interpretation. A translation in mediocre verse does not do justice to the original. Literal prose is to be preferred, as there will then be no deception in regard to the form of the poem. There is an agreement by mutual consent between a prose translator and his readers that the form of the poem is to be ignored, while in an inferior verse translation, or in any other version, that by omission or otherwise is not true to the spirit of the original, a spurious article is offered which deceives the reader. Translation in its highest sense is a matter of morality in which reverence for the original work of art is to be the guide.

The question whether Matthew Arnold was right in saying that it would be impossible for any one person to render acceptably all the varied meters and versification of "Faust," is open to argument. The ideal translation of Homer which Arnold described was to be realized in the future. In the same way one may set up the ideal of a poetical translation of "Faust" in English which is to follow the meter of the original as closely as is consistent with the nature and genius of the English language. That the translator should not fetter himself by trying to imitate the feminine rimes throughout the poem, was shown above, and that every detail of the verse, like the small number of alexandrines, should be reproduced, no one will be pedantic enough to demand. In other respects, however, the form of the poem should be held sacred. A little more labor will be necessary than if the whole poem were written in one manner, but there is no good reason to assume

that it cannot be accomplished by a translator of poetic insight. The varied meters of "Faust" are found in English poetry. The most of Part First was written in rimed tetrameter and rimed iambic pentameter. The first was used by Coleridge in "Christabel,"²¹ and the second occurs as heroic verse in the dramas of Dryden, in the didactic poetry of Pope, and in the English epic.

3. *Theories on the Art of Translating in England*

It will be well to glance at the theories on the art of translating which were current in England in the early part of the nineteenth century. If the translators gave any attention to the formulation of a method of work, they were naturally guided by the prevailing theories. There is, to be sure, very little evidence which goes to show a careful consideration of this subject by the early translators of "Faust." And yet, it may be assumed that even those who gave the matter little thought, were unconsciously influenced by the principles that were laid down by their predecessors.

The authors that had written on this subject in England, discussed solely translation from the ancient languages. Not enough prestige had been gained for German literature in England, to make translating from the German a live question. Some of the English people felt that they were behind the Germans in the art of translating. Mrs. Sarah Austin said in her work on Goethe of the year 1833: "The morality of translating has, unfortunately, been understood and practiced by no people but the Germans, and it is time that the conscientious endeavor to understand and render an author should not be all on one side." A writer in *Blackwood's Magazine* said in 1841: "One may trust to a German translator 99 times out of a hundred; to an English translator, in every hundred only one. The Germans make a business of translating. They study it as an art. They are honest and conscientious in the matter."²²

²¹ Bateson, H. D., "An Introduction to the study of English Rhythms, with an Essay on the Meter of Coleridge's Christabel." Reprinted from the *Manchester Quarterly*, 1896.

²² "Characteristics of Goethe," by Mrs. Sarah Austin, Vol. I, p. 273, and *Blackwood's Magazine* (1841), Vol. L, p. 152.

Of the more important writers on the art of translation, who influenced the thought on this subject at the beginning of the nineteenth century, John Dryden is to be mentioned first. He reduced translating to three kinds, which in substance are:²³

1. Metaphrase, or turning an author word by word and line by line, from one language into another.

2. Paraphrase, or translation with latitude, where the author's words are not so strictly followed as his sense; and this, too, may be amplified but not altered.

3. Imitation, where the translator (if he now has not lost that name) assumes the liberty to forsake both words and sense as he sees occasion.

Imitation and verbal version are the two extremes Dryden would have the translator avoid, and he proposes the mean between the two. This would be his second method—paraphrase. His followers imitated him in his free and easy methods of translation. Fidelity to the original was lost sight of, and translation was, for a while at least, synonymous with paraphrase.

Pope, in his translation of Homer, amplified and embellished by his own imagery. He used metaphorical expressions which are foreign to Homer, whose language is strength united with simplicity. This artificiality in the translations of Pope was but a tendency of the times in which he lived.

In 1791 there appeared an elaborate treatise on the "Principles of Translation," by Alexander Fraser Tytler, professor of history in the University of Edinburgh.²⁴ He emphasizes the importance of translating and laments the fact that no more has been done to investigate its laws or unfold its principles. He describes a good translation to be: "That in which the merit of the original work is so completely transferred into another language, as to be distinctly apprehended, and as

²³ Preface to the Translation of Ovid's "Epistles," Works, Scott and Saintsbury, Edinburgh, 1885, Vol. XII, pp. 7 and 281.

²⁴ "Essay on the Principles of Translation." By Alexander Fraser Tytler, Lord Woodhouselee. Edinburgh, 1791, 1797, and 1813. My account is based on the edition of 1813.

strongly felt, by a native of the country to which that language belongs, as it is by those who speak the language of the original work. If this description is a just one, then three laws of translation will follow:”

1. “That the translation should give a complete transcript of the ideas of the original work.”
2. “That the style and manner of writing should be the same character with that of the original.”
3. “That the translation should have all the ease of original composition.”

In his concluding chapter Tytler states in substance that the genius of the translator should be akin to that of the original author, and that the best translators have been those who have composed original works of the same species as those which they have translated.

All these rules by Tytler refer to ancient language translations. German and the other modern languages are not mentioned. His book is, upon the whole, opposed to the free and easy methods of translation practiced by Dryden and his followers and it emphasizes as against Pope, the wrong done an author by introducing elements not found in the original.

Later, when the translations of “Faust” begin to appear, there is incidentally some consideration of the art of translation in connection with the review of them. A lengthy treatment of the history and principles of translation is begun by the *Edinburgh Review* in discussing Hayward’s “Faust.” The article brings out nothing further than the fact that classical nations never studied the principles of translation—and that modern nations have not yet arrived at a “just conception of what is implied in language, as significant of the national character, to have yet been able to apply the test of philosophical criticism to the exigencies of translation.” It refers to modern languages as “living mongrel dialects” as opposed to the classical languages, and states that the harmony of modern verse stands at an immense interval from the power and sweetness combined in the classical tongues. To rescue the har-

mony or melody of modern verse in a translation would afford but poor remuneration. For this reason it justifies the experiment of Mr. Hayward in translating "Faust" into prose.²⁵

How the early translators of "Faust" approached their task will be the subject of the following pages.

²⁵ *Edinburgh Review* (1833), Vol. LVII, p. 107.

CHAPTER V

TRANSLATIONS OF THE FIRST PART OF "FAUST" UP TO 1850

1. *George Soane*

A metrical translation of "Faust" was begun by George Soane in 1822. He was interrupted after completing the first 576 lines, and never finished the undertaking. Boileau, a native German living in London, mentions this fragment in his review of Hayward's "Faust," saying: "Mr. George Soane had been invited by the German bookseller, Bohte, to attempt a poetical translation of Goethe's 'Faust,' the first sheets of which were sent to Goethe, who greatly approved of the translation, and Mr. Soane had done nearly one-third of the work when the death of bookseller Bohte, and unpleasant family affairs which deprived Mr. Soane of the serenity of mind necessary for such a task, made him relinquish an undertaking which would have exhibited alike his poetical powers and his perfect knowledge of the language of Germany."¹

The part that Soane translated was printed in advance sheets. They must have been known to a number of persons at that time, as they are also referred to by a writer in the *London Magazine*, who says that he has thirty-two pages of Soane's translation in print. "No doubt," he continues, "the venerable John Wolfgang's inspection of his manuscript has been of material utility, and will give his undertaking consequence in the eyes of the public."²

The publisher Bohte took the advance sheets with him to Weimar in June 1822, and sent them to Goethe, who was in Jena at that time.³ The translation was printed side by side with the original. After reading it, Goethe wrote to Reinhard,

¹ Boileau, D. "A few Remarks on Mr. Hayward's English Prose Translation of Goethe's 'Faust,' with additional observations on the difficulty of translating German works in general." London, 1834, p. 19.

² *London Magazine* (1821), Vol. IV, p. 657.

³ Gräf, p. 285, and Pniower, p. 136.

June 10, 1822: "In England hat ein Herr Soane meinen 'Faust' bewunderungswürdig verstanden und dessen Eigentümlichkeiten mit der Eigentümlichkeit seiner Sprache und den Forderungen seiner Nation in Harmonie zu bringen gewusst; ich besitze die ersten Bogen mit neben gedrucktem Original." The next year Goethe printed the four stanzas of the Dedication as translated by Soane in "Kunst und Altertum."⁴

In spite of the fact that this fragment was well-known in England, no copy of it seems to have been preserved there, and it was entirely unknown, until a few years ago when Goethe's copy was discovered in his *Nachlass*. It was published by Leonard L. Mackall.⁵

Special interest attaches to this translation on account of the praise that Goethe bestowed upon it. Naturally, one must allow for the special pleasure that Goethe felt in seeing this first attempt to make "Faust" known in England by a poetic translation. Goethe emphasized that the translator thoroughly understood the original and that his work was done with due consideration for the peculiarities of the English language.

So far as the meter is concerned, Soane might have followed the original more closely. He converted the ottava-rima of the Dedication into Spenserian stanzas. Most of his translation is in blank verse, including, among other parts, the Prelude and the Prologue, with the exception of the Archangels' Chants, which are rimed. He succeeded best in the rimed iambic tetrameter of the monologue of Faust, of which the following is a specimen:

Oh thou full moon whose waxing light
I oft have watched in middle night,
Oh, that thy beams were shining now
The last time on my troubled brow!
Then mournful friend thy round full-grown,
Upon my books and papers shone.
Ah, could I on thy mountain height
But wander in thy lovely light,

⁴ "Kunst und Altertum" (1823), Vol. IV, No. 2, pp. 77-78, and Gräff, p. 285.

⁵ Published in *Archiv* (1904), Vol. CXII, pp. 280-293. A reprint has also been published by Westermann, Braunschweig, 1904.

In mountain caves with spirits creep,
 O'er meadows in thy twilight sweep,
 And, free from learning's sickly pain
 Bathe in thy dew's to health again!

Here he has followed the meter closely without any attempt to imitate the feminine rimes. Some of the difficulties of rendering the highly idiomatic and poetic language of Goethe are here at once evident. "Herangewacht" is well-nigh untranslatable. Soane attempted to give it by, "whose waxing light, I oft have watched." He tried to get at the meaning as near as possible in all cases, and no serious errors of interpretation can be charged against him. If one takes into consideration that this was the first attempt to translate "Faust" into English verse and that no previous work was in existence by which it could be measured, it is deserving of commendation.

2. *Percy Bysshe Shelley*

Shelley's interest in Goethe's "Faust" began early in life. With a nature somewhat akin to that of Faust, he found food here for his soul. Of all the works that he read, Schiller's "Robbers" and Goethe's "Faust" were, according to Dowden,⁶ those which took the deepest root in Shelley's mind and had the strongest influence in the formation of his character.

During a six-weeks stay in Germany in 1814, he made his first efforts to learn the German language. In 1815, he continued his attempts to master German by translating literally a part of the beginning of Goethe's "Faust." Three short specimens are given in his complete works.⁷ He translated word for word, retaining even the German word order. Several examples will show the nature of these attempts.

496 f. Bist du es der von meinem Hauch umwittert,
 In allen Lebenstiefen zittert,

Art thou he? who by my breath round-thundered,
 In all thy life's depth shook.

⁶ Dowden, "Life of Shelley," London, 1886, Vol. I, p. 472.

⁷ Forman, "Prose Works of Shelley," Vol. III, pp. 319-325.

828 f. Blitz, wie die wackern Dirnen schreiten!
Herr Bruder, komm! wir müssen sie begleiten.

Lightning-like the vigorous maidens stride!
Mr. Brother, come! we must them accompany.

Shelley's interest in "Faust" continued, and when the plates by Retzsch appeared, he was much delighted with them. But he criticized the translation of extracts that accompanied them as "weak and incompetent to represent 'Faust.'"⁸ He was prompted to translate the Walpurgis-Night and the Prologue himself, because they had been omitted from the publication of Boosey. At first Shelley hesitated to attempt the work as he considered himself incompetent for the task. He was of the opinion that Coleridge was best qualified to render "Faust." As early as January 1822, he wrote to Gisborne⁹ calling the translation of Boosey¹⁰ and the fragments in *Blackwood's Magazine* "miserable," and exclaiming: "Ask Coleridge if their stupid misintelligence of the deep wisdom and harmony of the author does not spur him to action."

But Coleridge was apparently not to be moved. Byron, who was anxious to have "Faust" in an English version, urged Shelley to undertake a translation. Shelley thereupon translated the Walpurgis-Night for the *Liberal*, a magazine to be published by Leigh Hunt, Shelley, Byron, and others.¹¹ Shelley wrote to Gisborne, April 10, 1822: "I have—imagine my presumption—translated several scenes from both ('Faust' and Calderon's 'Il Magico Prodigioso') as the basis of a paper for our journal." The Prologue was translated later, and first published in the "Posthumous Poems" by Mrs. Shelley.¹² Both are given in the works as edited by Forman and Rosetti.¹³

⁸ Letter to John Gisborne, "Prose Works," Vol. IV, p. 263.

⁹ Forman, "Prose Works," Vol. IV, p. 251.

¹⁰ Refers to the anonymous translation, which was published by Boosey in 1821.

¹¹ *The Liberal, Verse and Prose from the South*, Vol. I, pp. 121-139.

¹² Erich Schmidt is in error when he says in his "Faust" commentary that the Prologue, as translated by Shelley, appeared in the *Liberal* in 1822. Cf. "Goethes sämtliche Werke, Jubiläums-Ausgabe," Vol. XIII, p. 272.

¹³ Forman, "Poetical Works," Vol. IV, pp. 284-309; Rosetti, Vol. III, pp. 320-336.

Shelley translated his fragments in blank verse. He used rime, however, in rendering the Chants of the Archangels, and the Chorus of Faust, Mephistopheles, and the Ignis Fatuus (3871-3912), and the Witch's Chorus (3956-4015).

Shelley took delight in rendering the Walpurgis-Night and revelled in the throng of Goethe's wild images. He translated with simplicity and force as the following passage will show:

3871 f. The limits of the sphere of dream,
 The bounds of true and false are passed.
 Leads us on, thou wandering gleam,
 Lead us onward far and fast,
 To the wide the desert waste.
 But see how swift advance and shift
 Trees behind trees, row by row,—
 How clift by clift, rocks bend and lift
 Their frowning foreheads as we go.
 The giant-snouted crags, ho! ho!
 How they snort and how they blow!
 Through the mossy sods and stones,
 Stream and streamlet hurry down—
 A rushing throng! a sound of song
 Beneath the vault of heaven is blown!
 Sweet notes of love, the speaking tones
 Of this bright day, sent down to say
 That Paradise on earth is known,
 Resound around beneath above.
 All we hope and all we love
 Finds a voice in this blithe strain,
 Which wakens hill and wood and rill,
 And vibrates far o'er field and vale,
 And which Echo, like the tale
 Of old times, repeats again.

Shelley gives wing to his poetic fancy occasionally and amplifies upon Goethe's text.

3950-53. Und durch die übertrümmerten Klüfte
 Zischen und heulen die Lüfte.
 Hörst du Stimmen in der Höhe?
 In der Ferne in der Nähe?

Shelley renders:

And through the ruins of the shaken mountain
The airs hiss and howl—
It is not the voice of the fountain,
Nor the wolf in his midnight prowling.
Dost thou not hear?
Strange accents are ringing
Aloft, afar, anear:

His knowledge of German fails him now and then as is shown by the following passages:

3926-27. Und hier in der gedrängten Ecke
Vereinzelt sie sich auf einmal.

And now once more within that narrow corner
Masses itself into intensest splendor.

3936-37. Wie rast die Windsbraut durch die Luft!
Mit welchen Schlägen trifft sie meinen Nacken!

The children of the wind rage in the air!
With what fierce strokes they fall upon my neck!

4050. Ich höre was von Instrumenten tönen!
I hear them tune their instruments—

4161. Wir sind so klug und dennoch spukt's in Tegel.
Are we so wise and is the pond¹⁴ still haunted?

Some of the gross allusions Shelley avoids or gives them a humorous turn. He is probably uncertain as to their meaning.¹⁵

¹⁴ I am inclined to believe, however, that this is not Shelley's translation. It is stated by Miss Blind (*Westminster Review* (1870), XXXVIII, 82) that in the Boscombe MS. the passage for "Tegel" is left blank, and that the person who published it in the *Liberal* probably inserted the word "pond" to fill out the gap. Forman ("Poetical Works of Shelley" IV, 306) believes there is not sufficient evidence for this assumption. But if one sees that Shelley also left the place for the word "Prater" (4211) blank, another word, which like "Tegel" could not possibly be understood by Shelley, one must agree with Miss Blind. Cf. also, Zupitza, "Zu einer Stelle in Shelleys Überstetzung von 'Faust,'" *Archiv*, XCIV, 267. It is here also shown that very probably the MS. did not go through without changes.

¹⁵ For a closer textual comparison of Shelley's translation, see: Zeiger, "Shelleys Stellung zur deutschen Literatur," *Studien zur vergleichenden Literaturgeschichte*, Vol. I, p. 312.

3977. The child in the cradle he's strangled at home,
And the mother is clapping her hands.—

3961. 'Twixt witches and incubi what shall be done?
Tell it who dare! Tell it who dare!

The Prologue in Heaven which was written later and published for the first time with the "Posthumous Poems" was, upon the whole, translated more correctly. Shelley had then advanced in his knowledge of German. He was attracted by the Miltonic grandeur of the Archangels' Chants, and caught the spirit of mocking irreverence of Mephistopheles. He rendered Raphael's song as follows:

The sun makes music as of old
Amid the rival spheres of heaven,
On its predestined circle rolled
With thunder-speed: the angels even
Draw strength from gazing on its glance,
Though none its meaning fathom may:—
The world's unwithered countenance
Is bright as at creation's day.

Along with this translation of the Archangels' Chants, Shelley gave what he called, "a literal translation" of the three stanzas, which are given by Forman in a footnote. Raphael's Chant he interpreted:

The sun sounds, according to ancient custom,
In the song of emulation of his brother spheres.
And its forewritten circle
Fulfills with a step of thunder.
Its countenance gives the angels strength
Tho none can fathom it.
The incredible high works
Are excellent as at the first day.

In regard to this supplementary translation Shelley said: "Such is a literal translation of this astonishing chorus; it is impossible to represent in another language the melody of the versification; even the volatile strength and delicacy of the

ideas escape in the crucible of translation, and the reader is surprised to find a *caput mortuum*."¹⁶

Shelley's translation received a great deal of favorable comment. Hayward said of it: "Of the power manifested in the unfinished fragments of Shelley, few think or speak more highly than myself." Goethe, however, did not record his opinion of the translation, although he saw it in 1826 in Shelley's "Posthumous Works."¹⁷

In spite of the fact that Shelley's knowledge of German was not perfect, and of his inclination to embroider Goethe's text with his own fancies, he produced in these fragments a translation of poetic beauty and forceful simplicity which can be read with pleasure. One can only regret that he did not translate the entire First Part.

3. Lord Francis Leveson Gower

The next translation was published in 1823 by Lord Gower, who later in life went by the title, Lord Egerton, Earl of Ellesmere.¹⁸ He possessed some talent for versification, but his knowledge of German was entirely inadequate for a good translation of "Faust." It is even said that he did the work as an exercise in the German language. But it was read much in England in spite of its defects. When it appeared, interest in Goethe's poem had been aroused, which made Gower's translation popular. A second edition was printed in 1825.

For ten years Gower's "Faust" was the only complete English translation extant—that is, it was supposed to be complete, but in reality it was only a mutilated version, as Gower omitted parts of Goethe's text wherever he pleased. In his introduction he stated that he left sundry passages unattempted where he was convinced of his own inability to transfer their spirit to a translation. "Considerations of decency" had also

¹⁶ "Poetical Works," Forman, Vol. IV, p. 286.

¹⁷ Gräf, p. 342. July 19, 1826 (Nachmittags). Shelleys Übersetzung aus "Faust." See also, Pniower, No. 461.

¹⁸ Hence, the interchange of names by Engel in his "Zusammenstellungen." Nos. 803, 805 and 854. In reality 854 is the same translation mentioned in 803 and 805.

in a few instances prevented him from proceeding. His argument was that the passages in question were not indispensable for the understanding of the story. Of the Prolog he gave only the Archangels' Chants, omitting the rest of the scene, and appending a note in which he briefly gave the contents of the dialogue between the Lord and Mephistopheles, stating that he omitted it in the translation, because the "tone of familiarity on both sides is revolting in a sacred subject."

In addition to this part of the Prologue, he omitted: The Shepherd's Song, 949-980; Song of the Invisible Spirits, 1607-1634; part of Auerbach's Cellar, 2092-2157; the Flower Scene, 3174-3194; the interlude on the Blocksberg, 3956-4182.

He mutilated the poem by these omissions, but his faults in this respect are even less grave than his mistakes of commission. A few examples will suffice to show his insufficient knowledge of the German language. He erred frequently in the use of the personal pronoun. So in the translation of:

1772-5. High as yourself to mount and dive as low;
 Upon myself to heap your weal and woe;
 Wide as your range my circle to extend,
 And like yourself be blasted in the end.

A few of the other glaring errors may be noted. In the first edition he translated line 1141:

Und lispeln Englisch wenn sie lügen.
 And lisp in English when they lie.

If Gower was afraid of offending the English people by parts of "Faust," he ought to have left this out by all means.

1292-3. Keines der Viere
 Steckt in dem Tiere.

None of the four,
 Stand in the door.

2617-18. Wie sie kurz angebunden war,
 Das ist nun zum Entzücken gar!

And when to earth her glance she threw,
 She pierced my easy bosom too.
 As with her gown held up she fled,
 That well-turned ankle well might turn one's head.

But with all his ignorance of German, Gower was a good versifier, and when he understood the meaning, he often produced a very good translation. For example, take Faust's Curse:

1583-1606. What though remembered music's powers
 One instant o'er my senses stole,
 And with the forms of earlier hours,
 From frenzy's grasp recalled my soul!
 Still shall my curse invoke confusion
 O'er flattery's web and falsehood's spell—
 On all that with its cold illusion
 Confines us to this earthly hell!
 And first I curse the loftier dreaming,
 With which the soul itself deceives;
 Cursed be the dazzle and the seeming,
 In which the easy sense believes,
 Cursed be ambition's vain impression—
 Fame's specious life beyond the grave!
 Cursed all that flatters with possession,
 As wife and child and house and slave!
 Cursed be mammon when his treasures
 As lures to active deeds are spread!
 Cursed when he smoothes for slothful pleasures,
 The pillows of the sluggard's bed.
 Cursed be the vine's balsamic potion,
 And cursed be love's delicious thrall!
 And cursed be hope and faith's devotion,
 And cursed be patience more than all.

It will be noticed that Gower here imitated the feminine rimes of the German, but he did not do so consistently through the poem.

The translation of Gower received much attention from the leading magazines, as will be seen by referring to the bibliography. Most of the comment was unfavorable, but some of

the reviewers were willing to admit that it had portions of considerable merit. The brunt of the adverse criticism was directed against the omission of parts of Goethe's poem. It was pointed out that these portions were absolutely necessary to the appreciation of "Faust" as a whole. Gower's work received its severest censure at the hands of Hayward, who took Gower to task in his prose version of 1833, for what he termed "sins of omission and commission." He pointed out in detail the faults of Gower, and held them up to ridicule.¹⁹

Mrs. Sarah Austin, in her book on Goethe,²⁰ devoted several pages to Gower's translation. She discussed especially the translation of lines 3432-3458, the answer of Faust to Margaret's inquiries into the state of his religious belief. She corrected Gower's rendering of the passage, gave her own translation of it, and concluded: "I regret the deficiencies of the passage the more, because there is much to admire in Gower's translation. The ease and grace of the versification are often remarkable, and some passages are very happily rendered."

There is also on record an utterance of August Wilhelm Schlegel concerning this translation. He said: "Of several of our original poetical works, able and felicitous translations have appeared, among which that of 'Faust,' by Lord F. L. Gower, displays distinguished talent in a most difficult undertaking."²¹ It is probable that he did not examine the work in detail.

Carlyle expressed his disapproval of Gower's translation in a very emphatic way. January 10, 1831, he wrote: "I greatly approve of Empson's (editor of *Edinburgh Review*) acknowledgment that 'Faust' is a wonderful poem and Lord Leveson Gower a windbag; only he led him far too gently over the coals; he should have roasted him there, and made him not Leveson, but a cinder. It is positively the nearest approach we can make to sacrilege in these days, for a vain young man, not knowing his right hand from his left, to take an inspired

¹⁹ See Introduction to Hayward's Translation. Edition of 1833.

²⁰ "Characteristics of Goethe," Vol. I, pp. 265-273.

²¹ Cf. "Introduction to Bohte's Catalog," London, 1825. Also, "Kritische Schriften," Part First, Berlin, 1828, p. 9.

work, like this of Goethe's, and mangle it into such an unspeakable hash. Let it either be overlooked, or punished *auto-da-fé*."²²

It only remains to mention here the opinion of Goethe himself, who received a copy of the translation from the author. Goethe expressed himself as follows: "Lord Gowers Übersetzung its eigentlich eine völlige Umbildung, vom Original blieb fast gar nichts übrig, deshalb er auch so viel auslassen musste, worüber er nach seiner Weise nicht Herr werden konnte."²³ We are also informed of Goethe's displeasure at this translation from several other sources. Henry Crabb Robinson reported in his diary of his second visit to Goethe in 1829: "He (Goethe) was alive to his reputation in England, and apparently mortified at the poor account I gave of Lord F. L. Gower's translation of 'Faust,' though I did not choose to tell him that his noble translator, as an apology, said he did it as an exercise while learning the German language. On my mentioning that Gower had not ventured to translate the Prologue in Heaven, he seemed surprised. 'How so, that is quite unobjectionable, the idea is in Job.' He did not perceive that that was the aggravation and not the excuse."²⁴

A. B. Granville, an English physician who visited Goethe in 1829, also has a similar report. Goethe is made to express himself as follows: "Whole sentences of the original have been omitted, and chasms left in the translation, where the most affecting passages should have been inserted to complete the picture. There were probably difficulties in the original which the noble translator might not be able to overcome; few foreigners indeed, can boast of such a mastery of our prodigal idiom as to be able to convey its meaning with equal richness

²² Shepherd, "Memoirs of the Life and Works of Thomas Carlyle," London, 1881. Vol. I, p. 79. In his letters to Goethe the translation was also denounced by Carlyle. See letters to Goethe of Nov. 15, 1830, and Jan. 22, 1831.

²³ "11. Mai, 1825." "Sendung aus London von Gower. Übersetzung von 'Faust.' In derselben gelesen." Gräf, p. 316, 320, and Pniower, No. 395. It should be noted that Gower failed to mention in his second edition that he omitted parts of "Faust," and that this was the edition Goethe saw.

²⁴ H. C. Robinson, "Diary," Vol. II, p. 106.

of expression, and strength of conception, in their own native language; but in case of the translation to which I allude, that excuse for imperfection does not exist in many of the parts which Francis Gower has thought proper to omit. No doubt the choice of expressions in the English translation, the versification, and talent displayed in what is original composition of his lordship's own well-gifted mind, may be deserving of his countrymen's applause; but it is as the author of 'Faustus' *travesti*, and not as the translator of Goethe's 'Faustus' that the popular applause has been obtained."²⁵

Evidently Goethe was greatly vexed²⁶ at Gower's attempt to translate "Faust," and justly so, for whatever method a translator may adopt, he at least owes deference to his author and has no right to mutilate the original. Gower injured the cause of Goethe in England by putting such a miserable translation upon the market. The *Quarterly Review* said on this point: "We have little doubt that the English critics who have condemned 'Faust' as an immoral work, have permitted themselves to judge poor mutilated translations."²⁷ While Gower's version has passages of individual merit, as a whole it must be condemned.

4. Abraham Hayward

Hayward's prose version appeared in 1833. It was first circulated among his friends and acquaintances for their opinion and suggestions. When it was favorably commented upon, he brought it before the public under a pseudonym.²⁸ In 1834 the second edition was published with corrections and emendations. Since then it has gone through ten editions, an abun-

²⁵ "St. Petersburg, A Journal of Travels to and from the Capital." By A. B. Granville, M.D. Second edition, London, 1829, Vol. II, p. 265.

²⁶ It has not been recorded whether Goethe expressed his opinion of the translation when he saw Gower, who visited him July 21, 1826, and was one of the fifteen English friends who sent the seal on Goethe's last birthday. Cf. Gräff, p. 342.

²⁷ *Quarterly Review* (1826), Vol. XXXIV, p. 138.

²⁸ "Faust, a Dramatic Poem by Goethe." Translated into English prose, with remarks on former translations and notes. By the translator of Savigny's "Of the Vocation of our Age for Legislation and Jurisprudence." London, 1833.

dant testimony to its great popularity. In 1892 it was once more republished in revised form by C. A. Buchheim.

As to the reasons for making his translation in prose, Hayward said that the idea was first suggested to him by a remark made by Charles Lamb to H. F. Cary, an honored friend of Hayward's, that he had derived more pleasure from the meager Latin versions of the Greek tragedians, than from any other version he was acquainted with. Hayward was then confirmed in his determination to translate "Faust" in prose, by the remark of Goethe that the Germans had the great advantage of having Shakespeare translated in an easy and clear manner by Wieland and Eschenburg. Hayward felt that a prose version of "Faust" was not the ideal version, but he came to the conclusion that it was the best plan at that time to make an exact literal translation. He was aware that no writer would lose so much by a prose version as Goethe, but that, on the other hand, no writer could afford to lose so much. Goethe would still be powerful after being submitted to the crucible of prose. Hayward had serious thoughts at one time of calling his work: "Aids to the Understanding of Faust," a title modelled after the German commentaries, but eventually he decided to make a complete translation.

When he submitted the first impression to the various German scholars among his friends, he frequently received as many as three or four different interpretations for the same passage, from as many different persons, each ready to do battle for his or her opinion. He ransacked all the various commentaries which had at that time been published, and deserves much credit for the scholarly methods he pursued. Erich Schmidt has called attention to the fact that Hayward made a suggestion at the time of his translation which anticipated Herman Grimm, who hit upon the same thing many years later. He showed the analogy between the scene where Faust is in Margaret's chamber and "*La Nouvelle Héloïse*," I, No. 54.²⁹

Hayward had travelled in Germany before he translated

²⁹ "Urfaust. 6. Abdruck." Weimar, 1905. Introduction, p. 48.

"Faust," and before revising it for the second edition in the autumn of 1833, he again went to Germany to consult with some of the more prominent Germans of the day. He was flatteringly received by Tieck, Chamisso, Franz Horn, Fouqué, Dr. Hitzig, Retzsch, Frau von Goethe, and others. The result was much new material for the notes to his new edition of "Faust." He also wrote letters of inquiry to Schlegel and Grimm,³⁰ and was aided by suggestions of Thomas Carlyle and Mrs. Sarah Austin.³¹

In his first edition he placed the Prelude and the Dedication in the appendix, giving as his reason, that they were added long after the first appearance of the poem, and had no necessary connection with it. In the later edition he put them in their proper place, and added in the appendix, "An abstract of the Second Part of 'Faust,' and some account of the circumstances under which it appeared."

Before beginning his translation he felt it incumbent upon him to show wherein previous translators had erred. He reviewed the version of Gower and the fragments of Shelley and Anster. The French translators, Stapfer, St. Aulaire, Gerard, and Madame de Staël also received notice. Gower was discussed at length and his sins of "omission and commission" were pointed out.

There were several reviews of Hayward's translation, which should be taken into consideration here. One of them was by Boileau³² and the other by Koller,³³ Germans, resident in London. Boileau discussed the first edition and Koller the second. Buchheim's edition of Hayward's translation also contains corrections and emendations of the original text. This editor was strongly influenced in the changes that he made, by Bayard Taylor.

³⁰ "Festschrift zur Begrüssung des 5. allgemeinen Neuphilologentags." Berlin, 1892, p. 77. The letters are there published by Erich Schmidt.

³¹ "A Selection of the Correspondence of Abraham Hayward. With an Account of his early Life." Edited by H. G. Carlisle. London, 1886, p. 16.

³² Boileau, D. "A few Remarks on Mr. Hayward's English Prose Translation of Faust, with additional Observations on the Difficulty of Translating German Works in general." London, 1834.

³³ Koller, Dr. H. W. "Faust Papers, containing critical and Historical Remarks on Faust and its Translation, with some Observations upon Goethe." London, 1835.

Hayward gave "a sort of rhythmical arrangement to the lyrical parts," in order to convey some notion of the variety of the versification of "Faust." Take, for example, the Soldier's Song:

Towns with lofty
Walls and battlements,
Maidens with proud
Scornful thoughts,
I fain would win.
Bold the adventure,
Noble the reward, etc.

But he did not do this consistently throughout the poem. The Archangels' Chants and many other lyrical passages are given in plain prose.

Hayward may be criticized in some instances for using language that is out of harmony with his characters and the circumstances under which they speak. Thus, plain Margaret is made to use words like "complacency," "repulsive visage," and "unaccountable horror":

3075. Travellers are wont to put up with things out of complacency.

3475. Nothing in the course of my whole life has given my heart
such a pang, as the repulsive visage of that man.

3480. I have an unaccountable horror of that man.

Expressions of this sort are not justifiable in a translation that is made avowedly in plain, literal prose. One also feels this occasionally in the speeches of other characters. Mephistopheles' statement,

2963. Wenn ich nur halb ein Kenner bin.

Hayward renders: If I am but half a connoisseur.

A number of the more difficult lines will now be brought up in order to show how Hayward and some of the other translators and commentators wrestled with them.

79. Die Gegenwart von einem braven Knaben.

Hayward renders "Gegenwart" by "presence." He retains this reading in II,³⁴ but says in a note: "An excellent German scholar³⁵ proposes, 'The present time.' Blackie gets it correct in both editions, 'present.' Even Bayard Taylor and Latham (1902) have 'presence.'"

122. Was macht ein volles Haus euch froh?

Hayward I and II: What is it that makes a full house merry?

Blackie I and II: A crowded house forsooth gives you delight.

Boileau suggests that "was" is to be translated "how." "The pronoun interrogative 'was,'" he says, "is sometimes employed instead of the adverb interrogative 'wie.'" Goethe says elsewhere: "Was der Junge doch fährt! How well the lad drives."

346. "Das Werdende" is an especial crux which cannot be well rendered in English. Hayward uses in I and II, "creative essence." He says that one friend suggested, "creation's energy." Carlyle wrote to Hayward: "There is clearly no translating of these lines, especially on the spur of the moment; yet it seems to me the meaning is pretty distinct—Das Werdende, the thing that is a being (is o-being), means no less than the universe (the visible universe) itself; and I paraphrase it by, 'Existence which is everywhere a birth into higher existence' (or in some such way) and make a comfortable enough kind of sense out of that quatrain."

Blackie translates: "The self-evolving energy divine."

Swanwick uses, "Creative power" in I. In II and III she changes to "The ever-growing."

339. The various attempts to put Goethe's "Schalk" into English are interesting. Hayward has, "scoffer." Blackie II, "clever rogue." Boileau suggests, "waggish rogue." Buchheim corrects Hayward to read, "waggish scoffer."

490. "Übermenschen" is also difficult to reproduce. Hayward has "demigod." Blackie evades the difficulty, and Swanwick also has "demigod."

³⁴ I, II, etc., refer to the various editions of the translations.

³⁵ This was Thomas Carlyle. Cf. "John Stuart Blackie, a Biography," by Anna M. Stoddart, Vol. I, p. 147.

521. "Der trockne Schleicher" likewise troubles the translator. Hayward calls Wagner, "the unidea'd groveller." Swanwick, "the soulless groveller," and Blackie, "the pedant-slave."

554-55. Ja eure Reden die so blinkend sind,
In denen ihr der Menschheit Schnitzel kräuselt,

This is a difficult passage, and critics are not agreed as to its meaning. Hayward quotes letters from Grimm and Schlegel, who take "der Menschheit" to be in the genitive case. He takes his cue from them and translates in I: Your speeches, I say, which are so highly polished, in which ye crisp the shavings of humanity, etc.

In II he substitutes "shreds" for "shavings." Swanwick has:

Your fine harangues so polished in their kind,
Wherein the shreds of human thought ye twist.

Blackie renders, "the shavings of mankind."

1034. Mein Vater war ein dunkler Ehrenmann.

Hayward has: My father was a worthy, sombre man.

Buchheim changes the word "sombre" to "obscure."

Koller says the passage ought to be rendered: My father was a worthy man, but most abstruse in his notions, fantastic.

Blackie has: My father was a stern old gentleman.

Swanwick translates: My sire of good repute and sombre mood.

1698. Top! Und Schlag auf Schlag!

Hayward: "Done! And my hand upon it!" This line would not be considered but for the fact that both Germans, Boileau and Koller, differ from Hayward and give a novel explanation of the passage.

Boileau says: "Und Schlag auf Schlag" is by no means, "and my hand upon it," but instantly, without delay, in quick succession, meaning "let my death be instant." Koller agrees with Boileau and gives his reason as follows: "Hayward's translation would refer the 'Schlag auf Schlag' to the pre-

ceding symbolical act which is incorrect. Such a repetition of shaking hands as a solemn concluding act of making a contract is certainly against the German custom and our various idiomatic expressions and law proverbs, relating to it. . . . The expression which may be translated, 'at a blow,' is as Mr. Boileau says, a metaphor, taken from a thunderstorm and means, 'when to the moment I shall say,' etc., meaning with the same rapidity as a stroke of thunder peals, he, the unhappy being, will deliver his soul to the Devil." The other translators follow Hayward in their interpretation.

2120. Ihr Herrn gesteht ich weiss zu leben;

Hayward: You gentlemen must allow me to know something of life.

Boileau comes nearer to the meaning when he says: You must allow that I know manners. He then refers to a similar passage in "Minna von Barnhelm" where the foot-man says: *Meine Herrschaft weiss zu leben, und ich soll desfalls um Verzeihung bitten.*

3187. *Mich überläuft's!* This exclamation of Margaret gives vent to the emotions that are overpowering her. So much is expressed in these two words that translators have found it difficult to give them in another language. Hayward has: "I tremble all over." Swanwick: "I tremble so." Blackie: "I scarce can speak for joy." Bayard Taylor: "I'm all a-tremble." Latham (1902): "A thrill runs through me." The latter is quoted because it gives the meaning better than the other translations.

3364-65. *Mag ihr Geschick auf mich zusammenstürzen
Und sie mit mir zu Grunde gehn.*

Hayward has: Let her fate fall crushing upon me, and both of us perish together.

Koller objects to this rendering very strongly and gives his own translation as follows: Goethe has not made him say, "Let her be damned with me!" but Faust says, completely absorbed in his agonies and in reference to his fate: "Shorten

them. What must be done, let it be quickly done! Should even her fate fall crushing upon me; should even she (which may heaven prevent) perish along with me (for I can endure it no longer)."

4406. Der Menschheit ganzer Jammer fasst mich an.

This has been called, "the quintessence of the love-tragedy."

Hayward gives: The concentrated misery of mankind fastens on me.

Swanwick: Man's concentrated woe o'erwhelms me here.

Blackie I: All the collected wretchedness of time.

Blackie II: The up-heaped wretchedness of time. What laborious expressions the translators use in their attempts to reproduce Goethe's simple, "Der Menschheit ganzer Jammer!"

These examples indicate how difficult it is to render in another language, even in prose, some of the passages of "Faust." Incidentally they also show the interest taken by Hayward's friends in his work, and how later translators were influenced by him. His "Faust" was favorably received by the English public in general. Southey, Wordsworth, Hallam, and others wrote to congratulate him on his success.³⁶ Coleridge, though opposed to prose translations of poetry, thought this was well done.³⁷ The amateurs of German literature regarded the work as a great achievement in the cause they all had at heart—of making German literature, and especially "Faust," better understood. In Germany the translation was also well received. Hayward's inquiries of German scholars in regard to difficult passages caused them to become interested. He was made an honorary member of the Literary Society of Berlin.

The magazines reviewed the translation extensively. While regretting, in some instances, that the translation was in prose, they were practically unanimous as to the scholarly merits of the work. *Fraser's Magazine* expressed its satisfaction that the meaning of "Faust" was now intelligibly given, and pro-

³⁶ "Selections from the Correspondence of Hayward," p. 18.

³⁷ "Table Talk," February 16, 1833.

posed that some one transfer the harmonies of the original verse to English numbers.⁸⁸ If some one had arisen at that time who was able to give a classic impress to Goethe's masterpiece on the basis of Hayward's version, some of the poor translations that followed might have been discouraged.

Hayward was careful about interpreting "Faust" for the English. While the work has some inaccuracies, especially in the first edition, one is after all surprised at the philological accuracy with which he wrought. Many references that had puzzled readers, like "Tegel," "Lilith," "Proktophantasmist" were explained by Hayward on the basis of information that he received from German scholars. Passages like "Zeig mir die Frucht, etc.," which are easy enough to render word for word, he recognized as being exceedingly difficult to explain.

While a prose translation of "Faust" is not the ideal version, it served a good purpose in its day, like the Wieland and Eschenburg versions of Shakespeare in Germany. Several poor attempts in verse like Gower's had been made. Shelley's fragments, while spirited and poetic, lacked accuracy. Under those conditions about the best thing that could happen for the furtherance of "Faust" appreciation in England, was an exact literal version like Hayward's. Matthew Arnold looked with much favor upon this work. He said: "The First Part of 'Faust' is, however, undoubtedly Goethe's best work. And it is so for the plain reason that, except his 'Gedichte,' it is the most straightforward work in poetry. Mr. Hayward's is the best of the translations of 'Faust' for the same reason—because it is the most straightforward. To be simple and straightforward is as Milton saw and said, of the essence of first rate poetry."⁸⁹

5. *Anonymous Translation of 1834*

The next two decades produced a number of translations, mostly of little value, which do not deserve extended treatment. The authors of these owed much to Hayward, although

⁸⁸ *Fraser's Magazine* (1833), Vol. VII, p. 532.

⁸⁹ "Works of Matthew Arnold," London, 1903, Vol. X, p. 293.

they did not always admit it. They could not go far astray in regard to verbal accuracy, as the difficult parts had been interpreted by their predecessor. Besides, none of them did themselves much credit in the matter of form and versification. They usually excused their attempts by charging them to the favorable comment of their friends, who saw the first portions of their work in manuscript; others to their acquaintance with Goethe. Very few of the translators were of sufficient eminence to be mentioned in the "Dictionary of National Biography."

The anonymous translator of 1834 states in his introduction that it had been a matter of regret and astonishment to him that no complete English version of "Faust" should exist forty years after its original publication.⁴⁰ He claims to have translated the whole tragedy, and to have been on the point of revising it, when Hayward's work appeared. He would have thrown his manuscript aside, but was deterred from so doing by the reflection that a prose translation of a poet, however well executed, is scarcely quite satisfactory to the great mass of readers. He acknowledges his obligations to Hayward, as having "afforded him the greatest assistance in passages of doubt and obscurity."

The translator has confined himself to blank verse, except in the lyrical parts "as best adapted to give a true conception of the author." The following specimen will suffice to give an idea of his work:

Oh radiant moon! would that thy gentle beams
 Now took their last farewell of those sad griefs
 Which heavily oppress me; thou whom I
 So many a time at midnight hour have watched
 Beside this desk! Then as I sat immersed
 Midst books and papers, melancholy friend,
 Didst thou thy welcome visits pay to me!
 Oh! could I range in thy beloved light
 O'er loftiest mountain summits, and, conjoined
 With spirits, hang light hovering round the mouths

⁴⁰ He probably has the "Fragment" of 1790 in mind.

Of rocky caves, across the meadows flit
 In thy pale heavens, and freed from learning's fumes,
 Refreshed, revived, immerse me in thy dew!

The translation does not justify its existence from the standpoint of form, and it must also be condemned as having mutilated the poem. The Prologue is omitted because "its tone is repugnant to English feelings." The Prelude and the Intermezzo are also omitted as having no necessary connection with the piece, and not possessing any particular interest for the reader.

6. *David Syme*

In the same year appeared a translation by David Syme. It received much more attention than the preceding one, but most of the reviews were very unfavorable, especially the one in *Fraser's Magazine*.⁴¹ Syme gives Goethe's statements on translating, and says:⁴² "Of the two modes of translating, I certainly prefer that which in the words of Goethe 'requires that the author of a foreign nation be brought to us in such a manner that we may regard him as our own'—to that other—'which on the contrary, demands of us that we transport ourselves over to him, and adopt his situation, his modes of speaking, his peculiarities.'" Apparently this served him as a license to take over as much of "Faust" as he wished, and to throw the rest aside as useless. He makes bold to omit, as he says, "a few words and lines at different places, and for a few expressions, chiefly in the lyrical parts there may be no authority in the strict letter of the text." The Prelude and the Intermezzo are omitted in their entirety. The Prologue he fears to omit in spite of the fact that it is "strange and startling," since its omission had been considered fatal to the understanding of the drama.⁴³ A translator that treats his original with so little deference from the outset, deserves all the censure that Syme has received.

⁴¹ Vol. X, p. 88.

⁴² Quoted by Syme from "Characteristics of Goethe," by Mrs. Sarah Austin, Vol. II, p. 215.

⁴³ He probably means the statement made by the *Quarterly Review*, Vol. XXXIV, p. 138.

He translates lines 336 f. of the Prologue:

Go!

And when you please return. I do not hate
People of your description; for of all
The spirits that fell, I never had the least
Objection to the frank and open scoffers:
Human activity is apt to sleep,
For man loves unconditional repose;
Wherefore I give him that he may be stirred,
And kept alive, the Devil for a comrade,
To bellow in his ear, work! work!

Syme's versification is crude and his language commonplace. He had no talent whatever for his work. In some places he is so diffuse that the original is hardly to be recognized. Thus, for example, in the Chorus of Angels, in lines 757 f. The *Dublin University Magazine* is correct when it observes, that "the version of Syme is obviously inferior to every one of the others."⁴⁴

7. John Stuart Blackie

The translation of John Stuart Blackie appeared in 1834 and was republished in revised form in 1880. Blackie spent two years in study in Göttingen and Berlin, and while there had his interest awakened in Goethe and German literature in general. Before undertaking the translation of "Faust," he spent some time in the Advocates' Library in Edinburgh, consulting old books on the magic art and making notes for the elucidation of his text.⁴⁵

Blackie claims to have made his translation independently of any of his predecessors. He holds it to be wrong to trumpet forth the value of one's own production by declaiming against the merits of those who have gone before. This thrust was meant for Hayward, who had severely criticized the translators that preceded him. In several instances, however, Blackie does refer to Hayward and gives him credit for an

⁴⁴ Vol. VII, p. 282.

⁴⁵ Anna M. Stoddart, "John Stuart Blackie, A Biography," Edinburgh and London, 1895. Vol. I, p. 144.

interpretation. So, for example, in the case of "Tegel." The completed translations which he saw before doing his work, were those of Hayward, Gower, and Syme.

His principle of translation, as he states it, should be, not a mere transposing, but a recasting of the original, his chief endeavor being to make his translation spirited; to seize, if possible, the soul and living power of the German, rather than to give a careful and anxious transcription of every individual line. The translation is preceded by a dedication, "An Goethe," which is of interest:

Versuch ich's mich so kühnlich hoch zu heben
 Zu den Gefilden reiner Lebensstrahlen?
 Und wag ich's frech mit schwacher Hand zu malen,
 Was dir nur ziemt, das buntbewegte Leben?
 Wie soll der Kinderzunge lallend Streben
 Aussprechen was des Manneskraft gesungen?
 Wie soll des Menschenstimme wiedergeben,
 Was aus der tiefen Götterbrust entsprungen?
 O! wenn der Liebe ungestümer Drang
 Mich trieb, dass ich das Heiligste entweihe,
 Und zu berauschter frecher Sünde zwang;
 So schaue Du aus der Verklärten Reihe,
 Aus Himmelsharfen liebevollem Klang,
 Und wenn Du mich nicht loben kannst, verzeihe.

Blackie has serious objections to the Prologue in Heaven, and gives it as a postscript in emasculated form. He says that he had translated it in its entirety, but was dissuaded by friends from publishing it in full through motives of propriety and prudence. He gives as his reason, "the tone of careless familiarity with which things divine are here spoken of." The fault he calls "a human weakness in this divinest of poems."

From the modern point of view it is difficult to understand this feeling of the English. The objections to the Prologue now seem to be utterly absurd. The introduction of the Deity as a dramatic character was not unknown in English literary history, as it had occurred frequently in the Morality and Mystery plays. The source from which Goethe took the

idea is well-known. When Henry Crabb Robinson told Goethe that the English objected to the Prologue,⁴⁶ he was surprised and said that the same incident occurred in the Book of Job, believing that he need give no excuse for presenting the Deity in the same situation as the Bible narrative. But it was not only the representation of the Deity as a dramatic character that the English did not approve of; it was especially what they termed "the wanton irreverence" of Mephistopheles in the presence of the Lord that seemed to them wrong. Yet Mephistopheles is represented as true to his character. Any other portrayal of his nature and characteristics, even in the presence of the Most High, would have been out of harmony with dramatic principles. This prejudice of the English would not have developed to such strength if it had not been fostered by Gower's translation. By omitting the Prologue altogether, and avowedly on account of his respect for English feelings, he lent his countenance to the worst prejudices that already existed. Thus when Blackie, ten years later, not to mention other translators, published his "Faust," he also felt constrained, in deference to public opinion, to leave the Prologue out. But as the years went by, English opinion was modified, and when Blackie published his second edition in 1880, he printed the Prologue in its proper place.

Blackie also mentions the Second Part of "Faust." He has a poor opinion of this part of Goethe's drama. He calls it an incongruous afterthought, destroying the effect produced by the First Part, which he considers complete in itself. Faust, he thinks, ought not to have been saved without doing penance for his misdeeds. In power of versification and of language, he thinks it excels the First Part, but being a mere bundling together of masquerades, it produces a most unsatisfactory impression on the mind as a sequel to the First Part. In this respect Blackie was as blind as many other critics, both English and German.⁴⁷

He introduces his translation with a discussion of the Faust-

⁴⁶ Cf. *supra*, p. 103.

⁴⁷ For Blackie's own defense of his views of the Second Part of "Faust," see the *Nineteenth Century* (1886), Vol. XIX, p. 528.

legend. He shows how Goethe molded this material and appropriated it to his own use. In this respect he went farther than Hayward, who was careful about explaining all references in his notes, but gave little attention to the Faust-legend as such. It is generally admitted that Blackie tried to follow his text closely and make an exact version, but lacked poetical power, and talent for rhythm and rime. At the time of publication his translation was usually compared with Gower's, as it was one of the first metrical versions made after Gower. Blackie was given credit for having tried to translate literally, while Gower was commended for his versification.

Blackie's second edition is not an improvement upon the first. He made numerous changes, but the general character of the two translations is about the same. The following specimens will show the nature of the revision:

I. Oh! shon'st thou now thou full moon bright

For the last time my woes upon,
 Thou whom so many a sad midnight
 Beside this desk I've watched alone;
 Then over books and papers shone
 On me thy soft and friendly light!
 Oh that beneath thy lovely ray,
 On peaky summit I might stray,
 Round mountain caves with spirits hover,
 And flit the shadowy meadows over,
 From all the qualms of knowledge free,
 Bathe me to health within thy dewy sea!

II. O might thou shine thou full moon bright,

For the last time upon my woes,
 Thou whom by this brown desk alone;
 So oft my wakeful eyne have known.
 Then over books and papers rose
 O'er me thy sad familiar light!
 Oh, that beneath thy friendly ray,
 On peaky summit I might stray,
 Round mountain caves with spirits hover,
 And flit the glimmering meadows over,
 And from all fevered fumes of thinking free,
 Bathe me to health within thy dewy sea.

This is an average passage, by no means the worst that he has, and still it is very weak when compared with the original. All the poetry seems to have evaporated. "Then over books and papers shone, On me thy soft and friendly light," does not correspond to: "Dann über Büchern und Papier, Trübsel'ger Freund erschienst du mir." "Trübsel'ger Freund" is not much improved by "Sad familiar light" in the second edition. Blackie does not hesitate to add words like, "brown desk" to fill the meter. In other cases he sometimes interpolates a number of lines. So, for example, in one of the songs of the Angels he rambles off like this:

757. Christ is arisen!
 Praised be his name!
 His love shared our prison
 Of sin and of shame.
 He has borne the hard trial
 Of self-denial,
 And victorious ascends to the skies whence he came.

Only the first line has any resemblance to the original. Goethe's text says nothing of an ascension. In his first edition he misinterprets the word "Schopf." He translates 225 f:

What is not done to-day, tomorrow hopes in vain;
 You should not lose a single day,
 But let the present purpose lay
 Hold of your fleeting fancies by the *cue*;
 Once caught they are not apt to run away,
 Till they have done what they were meant to do.

Blackie frequently uses obsolete expressions. For example: "And Microcosmus he is high." "Master y-clept and Doctor too." "Tis y-clept in Chemistry." "My wakeful eyne have known." These archaic expressions were probably used to add dignity to the language, but in other places very careless phrases are used. So in line 1409:

Doch warum gehst du nicht durchs Fenster?
 There is the window,—'twere no mighty matter
 For one like you adown the wall to clatter.

422. Erkennest dann der Sterne Lauf.

Then dost thou know the secret tether
Which binds the planet orbs together.

In II, it is changed but hardly improved:

Thy raptured eyes
Shall then behold what force compels
The tuneful spheres to chime together.

These are instances which the reviewer in *St. James Magazine* probably had in mind when he said that Blackie's translation, though on the whole fairly accurate, was open to the charge of excessive expansion and loose and often grotesque paraphrase.⁴⁸

828-29. Blitz, wie die wackern Dirnen schreiten!
Herr Bruder, komm! wir müssen sie begleiten.

is translated:

Donner and Blitz! how the stout wenches stride!
Come brother, come! we must be at their side.

In II, it is equally ludicrous:

Blitz, how the buxom wenches do their paces!
Come, let us make acquaintance with their faces.

2501-02 is rendered:

And I as modern dandies do must use
A stuffing for my boots and shoes.

In II, he has made an attempt to correct the error:⁴⁹

Therefore like many a smart prig of nobility
In false calves to trick out my gentility.

By frequent expressions of this sort Blackie has made the character of Mephistopheles different from what it is in

⁴⁸ Vol. XL, p. 88.

⁴⁹ *Fraser's Magazine*, Vol. X, p. 88, counts up a number of the errors that Blackie has made.

Goethe's poem. He has added comical and grotesque elements. The *Dublin Review* calls his Mephistopheles a buffoon.⁵⁰

This translation received its most favorable comment from George H. Lewes, author of the "Life of Goethe." All the quotations from "Faust" in his biography are taken from Blackie's English version. Lewes says that of the poetical translations, Blackie's is the best and closest he has seen, and that it has valuable notes.⁵¹ Lewes was regarded as a competent critic in England, and his opinions were respected. This, added to the fact that Blackie occupied an important and distinguished position as Professor of Greek at Edinburgh, made his translation well known, and as a consequence it received much attention and was ranked much higher than it really deserves. Carlyle wrote a letter to Blackie April 28, 1834,⁵² in which he thanked him for the copy of the translation of "Faust" that had been sent him. He praised the Preface and Notes to the same, but dissented from Blackie in his opinion of the Second Part of "Faust."

8. John Anster

John Anster was an Irish barrister, who later in life was Professor of Civil Law at Dublin. His completed translation of the First Part of "Faust" appeared in 1835.⁵³ Parts of it had been published in *Blackwood's Magazine* in 1820.⁵⁴ He, therefore, has the credit of being the first Briton to translate a part of Goethe's "Faust" into English, his fragment being earlier than that of Soane. He published a version of the Zueignung as early as 1819.

He translates the Prologue in Heaven, but considers it necessary to justify himself at length in his Preface by bringing all possible arguments for its retention, in spite of the "pre-

⁵⁰ Vol. IX, p. 485.

⁵¹ "Life of Goethe," by George H. Lewes, London, 1855, Vol. II, p. 319, footnote.

⁵² This letter is quoted by Anna M. Stoddart in her "Biography of Blackie," Vol. I, p. 147.

⁵³ Gräf is in error when he says that Anster's translation first appeared in 1828. Cf. Gräf, p. 318.

⁵⁴ Vol. VII, p. 236. Cf. *supra*, p. 34.

sumptuous and scornful bearing of Mephistopheles, which violently shocks and wounds the feelings." His method of translating he explains as follows: "To verbal fidelity, I can, of course, make no claim; yet I have not wilfully deviated from it. I have not sought to represent my author's thought by "equivalents,"⁵⁵ as they are called; but if I may venture to describe what after all has been rather the result of accident than of any fixed purpose, I should say that I always have given a perfectly accurate translation of the very words, now and then expanding the thought by the addition of a clause, which does little more than express something more fully implied in the German than in such English phrases as occurred to me."

This does not express fully the license he has taken with the author in his translation, or paraphrase, as it is better called. For whatever merits his work may have, Anster's version is not Goethe, but a paraphrase of Goethe. His work has sometimes been spoken of as an original poem.

The following passage is very much admired by a writer in *Blackwood's Magazine*.⁵⁶ It is supposed to be a rendering of 447 f. *Wie alles sich zum Ganzen webt*, etc.

Oh how the spell before my sight
 Brings nature's hidden ways to light:
 See! all things with each other blending—
 Each to all its being lending—
 All on each in turn depending—
 Heavenly ministers descending—
 And again to heaven up-tending—
 Floating, mingling, interweaving—
 Rising, sinking, and receiving
 Each from each, while each is giving
 On to each and each relieving
 Each the pails of gold, the living
 Current through the air is heaving;
 Breathing blessings, see them bending,
 Balanced worlds from change defending,
 While everywhere diffused is harmony unending!

⁵⁵ Anster probably refers to the method of Dryden. Cf. *supra*, p. 89.

⁵⁶ Vol. XLVII, p. 240.

This is but one of the examples of the diffuseness that prevails throughout the greater part of the poem. In many instances one-half of the lines are interpolated. So much is added that the total length of Goethe's poem is about doubled.⁵⁷ The Curse is seven lines longer than in the original.

Anster translated the greater part of the drama in blank verse thus evading the really difficult features of a good translation. Parts of this blank verse are no better than prose. For example line 596 f.

How willingly would I sit up forever,
Gathering instruction from your learned works!
Tomorrow, as a boon on Easter-Day,
You must permit me a few questions more:
I have been diligent in all my studies;
Given my whole heart and time to the pursuit;
And I know much but would learn everything.

These examples show the general nature of the translation. It received considerable attention in the magazines soon after its appearance. The Dublin publications reviewed the work of their countryman very favorably, yet they were not blind to its defects. The *Dublin Review* thought that Anster was too much of a poet to be a close translator.⁵⁸ Anster's "Faust" was quite popular with the public. That it was bought and read, may be seen from the large number of editions through which it passed. It has been frequently republished up to recent times.

But a translation that attracts and satisfies the general public is not necessarily an ideal one. If Anster had been imbued with a proper respect for the original, he might, by virtue of his poetic talent, have produced an excellent translation. One can not help admiring the ease, grace, and fluency of his verses in some instances, but the person who knows "Faust" is not deluded. He wants an impress of the original, and this Anster

⁵⁷ Latham, in the introduction to his translation of "Faust," says: "There are in Anster's translation some 6,000 lines. Of these 4,600 are Goethe's, the remainder Anster's."

⁵⁸ Vol. IX, p. 477.

has failed to give. Lewes called this translation "a brilliant paraphrase."⁵⁹ Bayard Taylor referred to Anster's translation as "an almost incredible dilution of the original."⁶⁰

9. Robert Talbot

There appeared another translation in 1835 by the Hon. Robert Talbot, who resided at Hampton Court. He had spent some time in Germany and therefore considered himself a sufficient master of German to render "Faust" in English verse. A second edition of this translation was published in revised form in 1839. There he printed the German text page by page with the English, as had been suggested by the *Gentleman's Magazine*.⁶¹ This second edition of his work was dedicated to Thomas Carlyle.

When his translation first appeared, Talbot sent a copy to A. W. Schlegel and made some inquiries of him in regard to troublesome passages. His letter was found in the *Nachlass* of Schlegel at Dresden.⁶² He asked about the meaning of the following lines:

1. 79. Die Gegenwart von einem braven Knaben. Whether the word "Gegenwart" means "presence" or "the present time."

2. Nur was der Augenblick erschafft, das kann er nützen.

3. Whether, as had been suggested to him, the words: "Harmonisch all' das All" should be, "All das All."

4. 3793. Mit ahnungsvoller Gegenwart.

5. The expression "Werdelust" of line 789.

Talbot followed Hayward's prose closely in the preparation of his translation. Later, when revising his work, he found fault with Hayward, but in so doing exposed his own errors and slavish dependence in the first edition. For example:

Line 3488. I: Among the birch-trees spring begins to weave.

II: Among the birch-trees spring is now astir.

Footnote of Talbot: "Mr. Hayward again mistakes the mean-

⁵⁹ Lewes, "Life of Goethe" (1855), Vol. II, p. 319.

⁶⁰ Bayard Taylor, "Translation of Faust," p. 357.

⁶¹ *Gentleman's Magazine* (1835), Part I, p. 512.

⁶² It has been published by Stanger in *Archiv* (1901), Vol. CVI, p. 355.

ing of the word 'weben.' Here it does not mean 'to weave' but 'to move.'"

As to his theory of translating, Talbot declares himself in favor of the "compensatory method." But he has nevertheless followed his text very closely. He has attempted to be as faithful in reproducing the text as Hayward, and at the same time to present his work in rime. The result is a translation that is clumsy and lacks inspiration. One may admire his industry and perseverance, but cannot pronounce his work a satisfactory translation of Goethe's "Faust." It received some attention from the magazines partly, perhaps, on account of the gentle birth of the translator. The *Athenaeum* called it "reasonably good though weak in its lyrical portions."

10. *Anonymous Translation of 1838*

In 1838 an anonymous translation of both parts of "Faust" appeared. It was the first time Part Second was translated into English. The work is of little value, and one cannot concur in what Heinemann says: "Unsres Erachtens ist dies eines der schönsten englischen Bearbeitungen und was dichterische Diktion betrifft, ist sie wohl unübertroffen."⁶³ This judgment must be based upon only a cursory examination of the work.

The translation contains an introduction of twenty-four pages in verse which is mere doggerel. Not much more can be said for the translation itself as the following will show:

33-40. Well, here we are in Germany.

I claim of you two, who have oft before

Aided me at a nonplus, now to try

Your best to make our new spec. quite secure.

I like to please the multitude and why?

Because it lives and lets live to be sure.

The poles and screens are fixt, and boards to seat,

And everybody's ready for a treat.

As to his method of translating, the author says in his introduction:

⁶³ Heinemann, "Goethes Faust in England und Amerika," p. 9.

And though I own their fascinating power,
Rimes are real fetters, although formed of flowers.

Accordingly, the work, with the exception of some of the lyrical passages, is in blank verse.

The translation was not reviewed by the leading magazines. Only fifty copies of it were printed, and so it enjoyed only a limited circulation. If it had been brought to the notice of the press, it could not have received any but adverse criticism. The author doubtless feared this, and so wisely cloaked himself under an "anonymous."

II. *Jonathan Birch*

The work of Jonathan Birch deserves some consideration, if for no other reason than its pretentiousness. It is a large volume of 276 pages, embellished with twenty-nine steel engravings according to Moritz Retzsch, and is dedicated to Frederick William, Crown Prince of Prussia (afterwards King Frederick William the Fourth). Birch considered himself quite competent for the task, his only fear being, "lest I should be charged with presumption or affectation in so closely imitating Goethe."

Concerning his method of translating he says: "Relative to this translation I have proposed to myself to give the meaning of my author fully, neither slipping over nor avowedly leaving out any part; but studiously masking such passages as might be considered objectionable to delicacy—to give it in poetry line for line, and literally where the genius of the two languages admitted of such closeness; for if too verbally given, Goethe becomes increasingly obscure, and his beauties remain undeveloped."

Mr. Jonathan Birch had no ear for rime and was by no means equal to the task he so confidently expected to fulfill. On his first page he rimes "fancy" with "clutch ye." The first lines of the Dedication will suffice for quotation:

Again ye come! vague fluttering forms of Fancy
As erst, in glimpses on my sickly sight:
Shall I this time assay with force to clutch ye?
Inclines my heart for such delusive flight?

The translation received some notice in the magazines, but the reviews were altogether unfavorable. The *Dublin Review* says of it: "It is incomparably the worst that has yet been attempted. As a translation it is bad, as a poetical translation it is worse, but as a translation of 'Faust' it is worst of all."⁶⁴ Birch sent a copy of his translation of Part First to A. W. Schlegel for his opinion.⁶⁵ When Frederick William came to the throne in 1840, he sent Birch the "great gold medal of homage," presumably on account of his literary labors, and in 1846 he offered him a choice of apartments in three of his palaces.⁶⁶ In 1841 Birch was elected foreign honorary member of the Literary Society of Berlin, one of the few foreigners thus honored. But the royal favors in which Birch basked, and the honors he received, were not due him on account of the merits of his "Faust" translation.

12. John Hills

The translation of Hills does not sink to the depths of Birch. It is a performance of medium value not quite on a level with that of Talbot. The Prologue is omitted by Hills on account of its "irreverence and profanity." He calls it an "after-thought and afterproduction."

The introduction of Hills is of some interest, as he devotes several pages to his theory of translating. He maintains that prose cannot give even the exact meaning of a metrical composition, for, "as the look, the manner, the emphasis, and intonation of the voice, do, even in our common speech, infinitely modify, and oftentimes completely change, the mere grammatical sense of our words, so is the meaning of a poem indissolubly bound up with the rhythmic law of its being." On the ground of having attempted a combination of rhythm and verbal accuracy, he claims the right to bring his translation before the public. But he does not reach the goal he sets himself in his introduction. Like nearly all translators following Hayward, he has committed no grievous errors, but in

⁶⁴ *Dublin Review* (1840), Vol. IX, p. 477.

⁶⁵ Cf. Stanger, in *Archiv* (1901), Vol. CVI, p. 357.

⁶⁶ "Dictionary on National Biography," Vol. V, p. 65.

spite of his well-founded argument for rhythm in the translation of a poem like Goethe's "Faust," his verses frequently lack this very essential. This may be illustrated by the following passage which the *Foreign Quarterly Review*⁶⁷ calls "bald":

The mass you can subdue with mass alone;
 Each picks out what he feels for him was meant;
 Who much brings, brings a portion for each one,
 And in the end all leave the house content.
 Give you a piece? Then give it piecemeal too,
 You cannot but succeed with such
 As easily dished up too as invented!
 What needs it a great whole to have presented;
 That we would pull to pieces straight for you.

The translation was given some consideration by the magazines. The *Cornhill Magazine*⁶⁸ placed it among the four best versions, while the criticism of the *Foreign Quarterly Review* was very unfavorable.⁶⁹

13. *Lewis Filmore*

In 1841 there appeared in "Smith's Standard Library" a volume of "Faust" translated by Lewis Filmore. The author is quite modest, and says that he does not hope to outclass the work of preceding translators, the reputation of the versions of Gower and Anster being fully established. His excuse for undertaking a new translation is, that all previous editions had been published at a very high price, and none of them were available for a popular volume in "Smith's Library." Hence a new translation was imperative. Filmore briefly mentions Lenau's "Faust" in the Appendix and gives a summary of the contents of Marlowe's "Faustus."

He allows himself liberties with his author in extending and embellishing the original. An idea of the manner in which he

⁶⁷ Vol. XXV, p. 90.

⁶⁸ Vol. XXVI, p. 279.

⁶⁹ Vol. XXV, p. 92. Bunsen took an interest in Hill's translation and wrote him a letter concerning it. Cf. "Christian Carl Josias Freiherr von Bunsen," Aus seinen Briefen geschildert von seiner Witwe, Leipzig, 1869, Vol. II, p. 76.

handles Goethe's text can be obtained by examining the Dedication. Out of these four stanzas in the ottava-rima he makes in two instances fourteen, in one eleven, and in another seventeen lines. The Soldier's Song is also given an entirely different mold by Filmore:

Towns begirt with walls and moats,
 Maids of proud and lofty thoughts—
 Strong without and strong within—
 These are what I love to win!
 Bold is the attempt and hard,

But as noble the reward.
 Summoned by the trumpet's breath
 We go to rapture or to death;
 For 'tis among the battle's strife
 Thrills the rush—the life of life!

Maiden's heart, and city's wall,
 Were made to yield were made to fall;
 Bold is the attempt and hard,
 But as noble the reward;
 When we've held them each their day,
 Soldier-like, we march away.

The *Cornhill Magazine* says that Filmore had some idea of translating on correct principles, but as soon as a difficulty arose, he threw aside both the meter and the rime of the original. It says that his work may perhaps be read with languid interest by those who do not know the original German.⁷⁰

14. *Sir George Lefèvre*

A translation was published in St. Petersburg in 1842 by Sir George Lefèvre, Physician to the British Embassy at the Russian capital. It is comparatively worthless and need be mentioned only in passing. Of the Prologue Lefèvre translated only the Archangels' Chants. He divided the First Part of "Faust" into two acts. The first extended through the Cathedral scene to the Walpurgis-Night. The scenes are

⁷⁰ Vol. XXVI, p. 282.

counted through both acts, and number 24. Lefèvre stated in his introduction that he was not able to resist the temptation of trying "to make an old colleague better understood." A correct translation of "Faust" he thought still a desideratum. The first edition of his work was distributed among his friends at St. Petersburg. A second edition was published in Frankfurt a/M. in 1842. The work seems to have been little known. The "Dictionary of National Biography,"⁷¹ in giving the story of Lefèvre's life, does not mention that he translated "Faust."

The work is mentioned by the *Athenæum*⁷² with very strong disapproval. "Of the many versions of the First 'Faust' we recollect, this seems to us the most vulgar." These are rather strong terms of condemnation, and yet if one reads passages like the following, the judgment will seem correct:

2038-39. Grey is the hair of theory;
My friend, I'll tell you what I've seen,
The golden tree of life is green.

Or:

Pshaw! physic and philosophy,
And jurisprudence too,
Nay worse than both, theology,
All have I studied through
With pains, and am, poor silly man,
As wise as when I first began.
They call me Doctor, Master,—well,
Of ten long years I've had a spell,
Leading my scholars by the snout,
Above below and roundabout,
And see, just after all, I trow,
That we, alas! can nothing know.

15. Captain Knox

Captain Knox, whose translation appeared in 1847, could boast of a personal acquaintance with Goethe. He resided in Weimar for some time while Goethe was still living. He states

⁷¹ Vol. XXXII, p. 399.

⁷² *Athenæum*, June, 1842, p. 501.

in his introduction that Goethe's attention was attracted to him by a contribution that he made to *Chaos* while in Weimar. Goethe thereupon did Knox the honor of having his (Knox's) portrait taken for his private collection. An anxiety to justify this preference, Knox considers a sufficient apology for his attempt to translate "Faust."

He likens translation to the transposing of a beautiful piece of music from one key to another. He employs notes freely to illustrate his text, quotations being given from Bacon, Milton, Shelley, etc. His verse lacks smoothness. Frequently he substitutes other measures for the iambic. The following quotation will give an idea of his work:

Thou radiant moon, oh! might thy last
Gleam be upon my sorrow cast,
For whom so oft my vigil deep,
In to the night I've loved to keep.
Then over books and papers, thou
Friend of my sorrows, gladdest my sight:
Oh would that on the mountain's brow
I wandered in thy much loved light
With spirits might float through the caverns beneath;
In thy silvery glimmer thy meadows might rove,
And far from Philosophy's pestilent breath,
Might bathe me to health in the dew of thy love.

It is difficult to see how Knox could persuade himself that, in view of the hosts of versions that had appeared, such a translation had claim to public attention. The *Athenæum*, which discusses Knox's translation, takes a better view of it. It claims that he has been more faithful to the spirit of the original than Anster or Hayward.

16. *Miss Anna Swanwick*

Miss Swanwick, after having made several minor attempts to translate from the German, was asked by her publisher, Bohn, to undertake a translation of the First Part of "Faust." She agreed to the plan and her work was published for the first time in 1850. In 1879 it was revised and republished together with her translation of the Second Part.

Miss Swanwick was a woman of independent means, of classical and linguistic training, who devoted herself to literature because she loved it. Her chief literary work consisted of translations. In addition to her versions of the German classics, she also had a reputation as a translator from the Greek. She spent some time in Germany and thus perfected her knowledge of the German language.⁷³

When her translation of "Faust" appeared in 1850, it at first did not receive much notice. One reason probably was that the English had become sated with so-called metrical versions of "Faust," and ceased to look for anything good along this line. The translation was also not published in convenient form. It was bound up with "Iphigenie," "Tasso," and "Egmont," making a somewhat bulky and expensive volume. Hence it did not have a very large circulation when it first came out.

She states in the introduction to the first edition that she recognizes "the moral truth embodied in the poem, but deeply regrets its blemishes." She would fain omit or modify parts of the poem, but holds it to be the imperative duty of the translator to render faithfully even the defects of the original. It is evident that the criticism which Gower and Blackie had received for omitting parts of Goethe's poem, had had its effect upon the literary public.

Miss Swanwick possessed talent for versification and an ear for rhythm. She says in her introduction that a poet in describing the pleasure attending the exercise of the creative faculty exclaims: "Oh, to create within the soul is bliss!" and adds: "A faint echo of this emotion accompanies the endeavor to body forth the conceptions of the inspired master, and hence it is that passages of the highest beauty are those which least tax the energies of the translator." In general the rhythm of her translation is equal to that of any other complete version, but she has not wrought with the love of accuracy that inspired Hayward and Bayard Taylor.

In her second edition of 1879 she gives a sympathetic account

⁷³ Cf. Mary L. Bruce, "Anna Swanwick, a Memoir and Recollections," London, 1903.

of the genesis of "Faust" in Goethe's mind, as well as some remarks upon the development of the Faust-legend before Goethe. This is based chiefly on Kuno Fischer.

After Bayard Taylor's version with the double rimes became popular, she thought it was necessary to revise her translation and introduce the feminine rimes so far as possible. This was done, much to the detriment of some of the passages. For example, in the first and second editions she rendered the Song of Raphael as follows:

Still quiring as in ancient time
 With brother spheres in rival song,
 The sun with thunder-march sublime
 Moves his predestined course along.
 Angels are strengthened by his sight
 Though fathom him no angel may;
 Resplendent are the orbs of light,
 As on creation's primal day.

In the third edition, which was published in 1893, she has:

The sun in ancient guise competing
 With brother spheres in rival song,
 With thunder-march his orb completing,
 Moves his predestined course along;
 His aspect to the powers supernal
 Gives strength, tho fathom him none may;
 Transcending thought, the works eternal
 Are fair as on the primal day.

The use of the feminine rimes has necessitated inversions and the introduction of a number of words that take away the simplicity and force of the original. While the first translation contains words like "quiring" and "primal," which are out of harmony with the original, it is still superior to the rendering with the imitation of the double rimes. Upon the whole, Miss Swanwick's translation of 1850 is the best one of her editions, in spite of the fact that she made numerous changes later. Many of the changes do not seem to have been made for the sake of correctness, but more as a matter of

caprice, or of influence by other translators. She was easily swayed in her views as to the proper interpretation of a difficult passage. One also notices a lack of force in the speeches of some of the characters. In spite of her high ideal as to the duties of a translator, she now and then modifies Goethe's language, robbing it of its original vigor of expression. This is especially noticeable in the Valentine scene and the scene At the Well. Often she has her characters use formal English with many Latinized expressions in place of the simple and direct language of the original. This makes their speech stilted and takes away its naturalness and simplicity. Inversions are also frequently resorted to under the trammels of the verse. They have the same effect in making the characters artificial. Take, for example, line 3418 f. of Faust's and Margaret's talk on religion:

Forbear my child! Thou feelest thee I love;
My heart, my blood I'd give my love to prove,
And none would of their faith and church bereave.

Like Blackie, Miss Swanwick uses archaic expressions. Old inflectional endings occur now and then, as well as many obsolete words like "trow," "wis," "ween," etc.

The following is one of the best passages in her translation. It has remained unchanged throughout the three editions:

How all things live and work and ever blending,
Weave one vast whole from Being's ample range!
How powers celestial rising and descending,
Their golden buckets ceaseless interchange!
Their flight on rapture-breathing pinions winging,
From heaven to earth their genial influence bringing,
Through the wide whole their chimes melodious ringing.

Miss Swanwick also succeeded in rendering the pregnant language of Goethe in the blank verse of the monologue, Forest and Cavern:

And when roars
The howling stormblast through the groaning wood,
Wrenching the giant pine, which in its fall
Crashing sweeps down its neighbor trunks and boughs
While hollow thunder from the hill resounds;
Then thou dost lead me to some sheltered cave,
Dost there reveal me to myself, and show
Of my own bosom the mysterious depths.
And when with soothing beams the moon's pale orb
Full in my view climbs up the pathless sky,
From crag and dewy grove, the silvery forms
Of by-gone ages hover, and assuage
The joy austere of contemplative thought.

As was mentioned before, Miss Swanwick's translation received little attention from the magazines when first published. Gradually, however, the public recognized its merits and her version of "Faust" became deservedly popular. It is always read with pleasure in spite of the fact that it is not as scholarly as the versions of Bayard Taylor and Hayward. It has recently been republished in the "York Library," with an introduction and bibliography by Karl Breul, London, 1905.

CHAPTER VI

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. *Translations of the First Part of "Faust"*

1810. Taylor, William, of Norwich. Review of *Der Tragödie erster Teil*. Tübingen, 1808. A brief analysis with a translation of the Cathedral scene. *Monthly Review*, LXII, 491-495.
1813. De Staël, Madame. Baronness von Holstein. Germany. Translated from the French. In three volumes. London. Contains the following extracts from *Faust*:
1. *Faust's Dialogue with the Earth spirit*, 501-513.
 2. *Part of Faust's second monologue*, 602-736.
 3. 736-784.
 4. *Monologue, Forest and Cavern*, 3217-3250.
 5. *Talk of the lovers on religion*, 3414-3458.
 6. *Dungeon scene*, 4423-4612.
1815. Shelley, Percy Bysshe. Translation in prose of passages of *Faust*. *Prose works*, edited by Forman III, 319-325.
1820. Soane, George. Extracts from Goethe's *Tragedy of Faustus*, explanatory of the plates by Retzsch, intended to illustrate the work. London, J. H. Bohte.
1820. Anster, John. Translation of extracts from Goethe's *Faust*. *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, VII, 235-258.
1820. Anonymous. Retzsch's *Series of 26 Outlines*, illustrative of Goethe's *Tragedy of Faust*, engraved from the originals by Henry Moses, and an analysis of the *Tragedy*. London. Printed for Boosey and Sons.
1821. Anonymous. *Faustus*, from the German of Goethe. The greater part of Part I. translated in verse and connected by a prose narrative. With 27 Illustrations in Outline, by Moritz Retzsch.

- Reviewed: 1. Carlyle's Essay on Faust, p. 11.
 2. European Magazine and London Review, LXXX, 362.
 3. London Magazine (1821), IV, 657.
1822. Shelley, Percy Bysshe. Translation of the May-day-Night of the Tragedy of Faust. Volume I of the Liberal. London. The Liberal was a half-yearly publication by Leigh Hunt, Byron, Shelley, and others.
1822. Soane, George. Translation of Lines 1-576 of Faust. Printed in Archiv für das Studium der Neueren Sprachen, CXII, 280-293. Reprinted by Westerman, Braunschweig, 1904.
1823. Carlyle, Thomas. Translation of Faust's Curse. Printed first in Weimar in Ottilie's Chaos, Wochenblatt, Manuskript für Freunde. Republished with several omissions in Athenæum 1832, p. 5. Cf. Mackall, in Archiv, CXII, 388.
1823. Gower, Lord Francis Leveson. Faust: a drama in verse, by Goethe, and Schiller's Song of the Bell. London, J. Murray.
 Gower's Translation is reviewed: London Magazine (1826), XVI, 164. Blackwood's Magazine (1823), XIV, 35. Quarterly Review (1826), XXXIV, 136. Blackwood's Magazine (1840), XLVII, 223. Edinburgh Review (1830), LII, 231. Cornhill Magazine (1872), XXVI, 279. Fraser's Magazine (1831), II, 641. Dublin University Magazine (1836), VII, 278. British Critic (1823), XX, 156. Mrs. Sarah Austin, Characteristics of Goethe, I, 265-273.
1824. Shelley, Percy Bysshe. Posthumous Poems, published by Mary W. Shelley. London. Contains both Faust fragments, pp. 393-415. This was the first publication of Shelley's Prologue in Heaven. Both Faust fragments are given in Shelley's works as follows: Forman's edition, IV, 284-309. Rosetti, III, 320-336.

On Shelley's translation, see: *London Magazine* (1826), XVI, 170. *Quarterly Review* (1826), XXXIV, 136. *Blackwood's Magazine* (1840), XLVII, 223. *Westminster Review* (1870), XXXVIII, 82. *Hazlitt, Edinburgh Review* (1824), XL, 509.

- 1824. Galt, John. *The Bachelor's Wife*, a Selection of curious and interesting extracts with cursory observations. Edinburgh. Under the head: *German Genius*, pp. 255-285, *Faust* is discussed. Long extracts of Gower's translation are given, interspersed with a brief outline of the contents of *Faust*.
- 1825. Gower, Lord Francis Leveson. *Faust*, a drama by Goethe, with other translations from the German. Second Edition. 2 volumes. London.
- 1828. Page, Frederic. *Three Specimens of Goethe's Faust*. Published in *Employment*, a little pamphlet of poems. Bath. Contains ll. 550-587 of *Faust*.
- 1830. Taylor, William, of Norwich. *Historic Survey of German Poetry*. In three volumes. London. Volume III, 323-335, has Shelley's translation of the *May-day-Night*¹ and Taylor's own version of the Cathedral scene, where his famous translation of line 3834 is found: *Nachbarin! Euer Fläschchen. Neighbor, your dram bottle.*
- 1832. Robinson, Henry Crabb. Article on *Faust*. Translation of prose extracts from the Student scene, and the dialogue of *Faust* and *Margaret* on religion. *Monthly Repository* (1832), VI, 742-756.
- 1832. Shelley, Percy Bysshe. *Faustus* from the German of Goethe. The greater part of Part I translated into verse and connected by a prose narrative. Embellished by Retzsch's series of 27 *Outlines* engraved by H. Moses. New edition with portrait of author, and an appendix by P. B. Shelley. London, E. Lumley.

¹ Oswald, in his bibliography fails to state that this translation of the *May-day-Night* is by Shelley. Mackall (*Archiv*, CXII, 297) also erroneously attributes it to Taylor.

1833. Anonymous. *Faust*, Part I. a dramatic poem translated into English prose, with remarks on former translations and notes, by the translator of Savigny's: *Of the Vocation of our age for Legislation and Jurisprudence*. London, Moxon. This was the first edition of Hayward's translation.
1833. Austin, Mrs. Sarah. *Characteristics of Goethe*, I, 265. Translation of Faust's answer to Margaret in regard to his faith. 3431-3458.
1834. Hayward, Abraham. *Faust*, Part I translated into English prose by A. Hayward. Second edition. London. Third edition, 1838. Fourth edition, 1847. Sixth edition, 1855. Ninth edition, 1874. Tenth edition, 1880. First American edition, 1840. Second American edition 1854.
On Hayward's translation, see: *Athenæum* (1833), p. 260; and (1834), p. 500. *Edinburgh Review* (1833), LVII, 107. *Fraser's Magazine* (1833), VII, 532. *The Examiner* (1833), March 24, p. 180. *Foreign Quarterly Review* (1840), XXV, 90. *London and Westminster Review* (1836), XXV, 366. *Monthly Review* (1833), I, 698. *Revue Encyclopédique*, LIX, 198. Erich Schmidt, *Festschrift zur Begrüssung des 5. allgemeinen Philologentags*. Berlin, 1892, p. 77 f.
1834. Syme, David. *Faust*, Part I translated from the German. Edinburgh.
On Syme's translation, see: *Athenæum* (1834), p. 500. *Fraser's Magazine* (1834), X, 88. *Foreign Quarterly Review* (1840), XXV, 90. *Dublin Review* (1840), IX, 477. *Blackwood's Magazine* (1840), XLVII, 220.
1834. Blackie, John Stuart. *Faust*, Part I, translated into English verse with notes and preliminary remarks. Edinburgh and London.
On Blackie's translation, see: *Fraser's Magazine* (1834), X, 88. *Blackwood's Magazine* (1840), XLVII, 223. *St. James Magazine* (1881), XL, 98. London

- and Westminster Review (1836), XXV, 366. Foreign Quarterly Review (1840), XXV, 90. Dublin University Magazine (1836), VII, 278. Athenæum (1834), p. 500. Dublin Review (1840), IX, 477. Monthly Review (1834), I, 564.
1834. Anonymous. *Faustus*, Part I. Translated from the German. London. Reviewed: Blackwood's Magazine (1840), XLVII, 223.
1835. Flügel, J. G. *Flowers of German Poetry*. Selected. Contains a translation of the Dedication.
1835. Anster, John. *Faustus*, Part I, the *Bride of Corinth*, and the *First Walpurgis-Night*, translated from the German. London.
- On Anster's translation, see: Dublin University Magazine (1835), VI, 96. London and Westminster Review (1836), XXV, 366. Edinburgh Review (1835), LXII, 36. Blackwood's Magazine (1840), XLVII, 223. Foreign Quarterly Review (1840), XXV, 90. Dublin University Magazine (1835), VI, 96, and (1836), VII, 278. Dublin Review (1840), IX, 477.
1835. Talbot, Robert. *The Faust of Goethe*, Part I, attempted in English rime. London.
- On Talbot's translation, see: Gentleman's Magazine (1835), Part I, p. 512, and (1836), Part II, p. 477. London and Westminster Review (1836), XXV, 366. Foreign Quarterly Review (1840), XXV, 90. Blackwood's Magazine (1840), XLVII, 223. Dublin Review (1840), IX, 477.
1836. Hodges, C. *Scenes from Faust*. In *Original Poems*, etc. Munich.
1836. Anonymous. Translation of the *Archangels' Chants* and the monologue of Margaret at the spinning wheel. Dublin University Magazine, VII, 278-302.
1838. Anonymous. *Faust*, a Tragedy in two parts, rendered into English verse. 2 volumes, London. Only fifty copies printed. The first complete translation of Part II.

1839. Talbot, Hon. Robert Goethe's Faust, Part I. Mit gegenüberstehender englischer Übersetzung und erklärenden Noten versehen. J. Wacey, London. This is the second edition of Talbot's translation.
1839. Naylor, S. Passages translated from the Faust of Goethe. Maidenhead.
1839. Birch, Jonathan. Faust, Part I and II. Translated into English verse. Embellished with engravings on steel by J. Brain after Moritz Retzsch. London, 1839-1843.
On Birch's Translation see: *Athenæum* (1839), p. 887. *Dublin Review* (1840), IX, 477. *Foreign Quarterly Review* (1840), XXV, 90. *Blackwood's Magazine* (1840), XLVII, 223. *Cornhill Magazine* (1872), XXVI, 283.
1840. Hills, J. Faust, Part I, translated into English verse. London. On Hills' translation see: *Foreign Quarterly Review* (1840), XXV, 90. *Cornhill Magazine* (1872), XXVI, 279.
1840. Reade, John Edmund, Esq. The Drama of Life and Poems and Translations from Goethe. London. He translated:
1. The Archangels' Chants, 243-270.
 2. Monologue, Forest and Cavern, 3217-3250.
 3. Master Dolorosa, 3587-3619.
 4. The Walpurgis-Night, 3835-4222.
1840. Bernays, L. J. Goethe's Faust, Part I and II, translated partly in the meters of the original, and partly in prose. With other poems. Carlsruhe.
1841. Lefèvre, Sir G. Faust, Part I. Translation. London. See: *Athenæum* (1842), p. 501.
1841. Filmore, L. Faust, Part I. Translation. London. Forming a part of the collection entitled: Smith's Standard Library. On Filmore's translation see: *Cornhill Magazine* (1872), XXVI, 282.
1843. Lefèvre, Sir G. Goethe's Faust, Part I, translated into English verse. Second edition, Frankfurt a/M.

- 1843. Retzsch's Outline to Goethe's Tragedy of Faust. Engraved from the originals by Henry Moses, with an illustrative analysis of the Tragedy. London.
- 1845. Duckett, G. F. Goethe's Faust, being the Preface or opening to that poem, and the Prologue in Heaven. The literal translation of these selections. London.
- 1847. Knox, Captain. Faust, Part I, translated. London. Cf. Athenæum, 1847, p. 88, and Cornhill Magazine (1872), XXVI, 283.
- 1850. Tiark, Dr. Faust, Part I, a drama with glossary and notes. London.
- 1850. Swanwick, Anna. Dramatic Works of Goethe, comprising Faust, Part I, Iphigenie, Tasso, and Egmont. Translation. London. Henry G. Bohn.

2. *Stage Plays and Other Publications that Show an Interest in Goethe's "Faust" and the Faust-Theme*

- 1815. Black, John. Translation of A. W. Schlegel's book, A Course of Lectures on Dramatic Art and Literature. In 2 Vols. London, Edinburgh, and Dublin, 1815. Discussion of Faust, p. 431.
- 1820. Anonymous. Discussion of Goethe and his Faustus. London Magazine, II, 125-142.
- 1820. Anonymous. Review of Retzsch, Umrisse zu Goethe's Faust in 25 Blättern, Tübingen, 1818. London Magazine, I, 136-140.
- 1821. Dibdin, C. Faustus, the Magician of Prague. European Magazine, LXXIX, 114, 208, 315, and 407. This is a poem of four cantos in which the author takes part of the story as given by Goethe and Marlowe and adapts it to his own purposes.
- 1822. Carlyle, Thomas. Essay on Goethe's Faust. New Edinburgh Review, April, 1822. Reprinted (1885) by R. Garnett. Publications of the English Goethe Society, IV, 85. Also by Schroeder, in Archiv, XCVI, Heft 3 and 4. A reprint was also published the same year. This essay is not published in Carlyle's complete works.

1823. Faust, eine Tragödie, London, J. H. Bohte. A German edition published in England.
1825. Soane, George. Faustus: A romantic drama in three acts (and in verse) 59 pp. London.
1825. Soane, George. Faustus: A romantic drama in three acts. Cumberland's British Theater, Vol. XXXIII. Differs slightly from the preceding.
1825. Anonymous. Discussion of Retzsch, Outlines to Faust. Monthly Review (1825), CVII, 522.
1830. Richardson, T. The Remarkable Life of Dr. Faustus. With a colored frontispiece. 24 pp. Derby.
1830. Anonymous. Faustus, a Poem with notes. London. A poem of 101 stanzas, supposed to be a satire on Goethe's Faust.
1833. Horn, F. C. Goethe's Faust in England. A review of Hayward's translation. A pamphlet of five pages, with a pretentious title, but of no importance.
1834. King, B. B. Faust, a serio-comic poem, with twelve outline illustrations by A. Crowquill. (Alfred Forrester.) A travesty of Goethe's Faust. 32 pp. The illustrations are parodies on Retzsch's Outlines. Cf. Athenæum (1834), p. 874.
1834. Boileau, D. A few Remarks on Mr. Hayward's English Prose Translation of Goethe's Faust, with additional observations on the difficulty of translating German works in general. London. Cf. New Monthly Magazine (1834), LIV, 249.
1835. Koller, Dr. H. W. Faust Papers, containing critical and historical remarks on Faust and its translation, with some observations on Goethe. London.
1836. Anonymous. Review of Retzsch's Outlines to Goethe's Faust. Foreign Quarterly Review, XVIII, 63.
1839. Bailey, Philipp James. Festus, a Poem. London. This is a lengthy poem modelled upon Faust. It is said to have passed through eleven editions in England and thirty in America. Cf. A. H. Mills, The Poets and the Poetry of the Century. See also, Blackwood's Magazine (1850), LXVII, 415.

- 1841. Rede, Leman. The Devil and Dr. Faustus, a drama in three acts. Cumberland British Theater, Vol. XLV.
- 1842. Grattan, H. P. Faust, or the Demon of Drachenfels. A romantic drama in two acts. London.
- 1842. Bernard. Faust: A romantic Opera, in German and English. (The libretto only.) London.
- 1847. Drakeford, D. J. P. Faust, a Phantasia; edited by C. Simrock. A translation of the puppet play of Faust. 94 pp. Cf. Athenæum (1847), p. 617.
- 1850. Anonymous. History of Dr. Faustus. Glasgow. Chap-book. 24 pp.

3. *Translations and Criticisms of the Second Part of
"Faust"*

- 1828. Carlyle, Thomas. Discussion of Helena, published in the Ausgabe letzter Hand, with the translation of numerous passages. Foreign Review and Continental Miscellany, I, 429. Reprinted in Essays, I, 183-247.
- 1833. Hayward, A. Discussion of Faust, Part II, with the translation of passages in prose. Foreign Quarterly Review, XII, 81-109. A reprint of this article was also published in London the same year.
- 1833. Anonymous. Review of Goethe's Faust, Part II. Dublin University Magazine II, 361.
- 1833. Hayward, A. Appendix No. I of his translation of the First Part of Goethe's Faust gives: An abstract of the Second Part of Faust and some account of the circumstances under which it was composed.
- 1834. Blackie, John Stuart. He gives his views of the Second Part of Faust in the introduction to his translation of Part I, published this year.
- 1836. Retzsch, M. Goethe's Faust, Part II, illustrated with outline illustrations. London.
- 1838. Anonymous. Faust, a Tragedy in two parts, by Goethe. Rendered into English verse. London. The first complete translation of Part Second.
- 1838. Bell, John Macdonald. Faust, a Tragedy. By J. W.

- Goethe. Part Second as completed in 1831, translated into English verse. London.
1839. Bernays, L. C. Goethe's Faust, Part II. Translated from the German, partly in the meters of the original, and partly in prose. With other poems. London. Also, Carlsruhe, 1840.
1840. Anonymous. Discussion of the translations of the Second Part of Faust. *Foreign Quarterly Review*, XXV, 90.
1842. Gurney, Archer. Faust, a Tragedy, Part Second. Rendered from the German of Goethe. London. Cf. *Athenæum*, July, 1843, p. 629.
1842. Bell, John Macdonald. Faust, a Tragedy by J. W. Goethe. Part II as completed in 1831. Translated into English verse. Second edition. London.
1843. Birch, Jonathan. Faust, a Tragedy in Two Parts, by Goethe. The Second Part translated into English verse by Jonathan Birch, embellished with engravings on steel by John Brain after Retzsch.

4. *General Bibliography*

- Courtney, W. P. A Register of National Bibliography, with a Selection of the chief Bibliographical Books and Articles printed in other countries. London, 1905.
- Baldensperger, Ferdinand. Goethe en France. Paris, 1904.
- Baumann, Lina. Die Englischen Übersetzungen von Goethes Faust. Halle, 1907. Studien zur englischen Philologie, herausgegeben von Lorenz Morsbach.
- Betz, L. P. La Littérature Comparée. Essai Bibliographique. Deuxième Edition augmentée, publiée par Ferdinand Baldensperger. Strassbourg, 1904. Goethe et la littérature anglaise, pp. 138-142.
- Engel, Karl. Zusammenstellung der Faustschriften vom 16. Jahrhundert bis Mitte 1884. Der Bibliotheca Faustiana vom Jahre 1874 zweite Auflage. Oldenburg, 1885. English translations of Faust, Nos. 799-931.

- Gräf, Dr. Hans Gerhard. Goethe über seine Dichtungen. Faust, zweiter Teil, zweiter Band, pp. 1-608.
- Heinemann, Wm. A Bibliographical List of the English Translations and Annotated Editions of Goethe's Faust. Reprinted from the Bibliographer, Vol. II, pp. 79, 100, and 182. London, 1882.
- Heinemann, Wm. Goethes Faust in England und Amerika. Bibliographische Zusammenstellung. Berlin, 1886. Cf. Zeitschrift für vergleichende Literaturgeschichte, Vol. I, p. 87.
- Langkavel, Dr. Martha. Die Französischen Übertragungen von Goethes Faust. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der französischen Übersetzungskunst. Strassburg, 1902. Cf. Süpfle, Beilage zur Münchener Allgemeinen Zeitung, No. 76, pp. 28-30. Studien zur vergleichenden Literaturgeschichte, IV, 485. R. M. Meyer, Deutsche Literaturzeitung, 1903, No. 1, p. 28. F. Baldensperger, Revue Critique, LIV, 297.
- Minor, Jakob. Goethes Faust. 2 Volumes. Stuttgart, 1901.
- Oswald, Eugen. Goethe in England and America. Bibliography. Publications of the English Goethe Society, No. 8. Reprinted from Die Neueren Sprachen, VII, 336. London, 1899.
- Pniower, Otto. Goethes Faust. Zeugnisse und Excuse zu seiner Entstehungsgeschichte. Berlin, 1899.
- Thomas, Calvin. Goethe's Faust. 2 Volumes. Boston, 1892-1897.
- Witkowski, Georg. Goethes Faust. 2 Volumes. Leipzig, 1906.

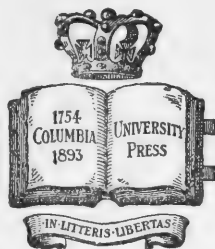
INDEX OF PROPER NAMES.

- Anster, J., 34, 35, 106, 121-124, 128
 Arnold, Matthew, 81, 85, 87, 112
 Ash, E., 10, 11
 Austin, Mrs. Sarah, 6, 8, 61, 88, 102, 114.
- Birch, Jonathan, 126, 127
 Blackie, J. S., 4, 60, 61, 108-111, 115-121, 134
 Boileau, D., 106, 108, 109, 110
 Bouhours, Père, 3
 Brooks, Chas. T., 84
 Bürger, G., 12
 Byron, Lord, 7, 17, 52, 69, 70, 71, 73, 74, 84, 87
- Calderon, 49, 95
 Carlyle, 6, 22, 23, 38, 39, 52-62, 74, 75, 79, 102, 108, 121, 124
 Chamisso, A. v., 106
 Coleridge, S. T., 12, 17, 32, 35, 52, 63-69, 82, 83
 Congreve, 22
 Coupland, W. C., 51
- De Quincey, 52, 60
 Dryden, 89, 90, 122
- Eckermann, 58, 59, 60
 Eldon, Lord, 41
 Eschenburg, 112
- Filmore, Lewis, 128-129
 Fouqué, 106
 Freiligrath, 82
- Gessner, 2
 Gillies, R. P., 6, 8, 34
 Göchhausen, Fräulein v., 18
- Gower, Lord Francis Leveson, 39, 40, 41, 59, 99-104, 106, 116, 118, 128
 Granville, A. B. 103
- Hallam, 111
 Hayward, Abraham, 6, 34, 42, 44, 46, 49, 55, 60, 77, 91, 92, 104-112, 113, 115, 116, 118, 127, 132, 135
 Hills, Jno. 127-128
 Humboldt, W. v., 81
- Iffland, 11
- Knox, Captain, 130-131
 Koller, H. W., 106, 109, 110
 Kotzebue, 7, 11, 12, 13, 14
- Lamb, 52, 65, 76, 77, 78, 105
 Lefèvre, Sir George, 129-130
 Lessing, 3, 9, 36, 63
 Lewes, G. H. 50, 51, 121
 Lewis, M. G., 6, 7, 11, 70, 71, 73, 87
 Lockhart, 75
- Macaulay, 3, 8, 52
 Mackenzie, Henry, 9, 10, 11
 Marlowe, 21, 31, 54, 72, 76, 128
 Menzel, Wolfgang, 49
 Moore, Thomas, 35
 Müllner, Adolf, 69
- Preston, Wm., 14
 Pope, 89
- Retzsch, Moritz, 32, 33, 38, 39, 95, 106, 126
 Richter, Jean Paul, 16, 28

- Robinson, H. C., 6, 7, 8, 11, 63, 64,
65, 103, 117
- Schiller, 3, 9, 11, 12, 14, 19, 20,
63, 69, 82, 94
- Schlegel, A. W., 5, 15, 19, 28, 30,
31, 81, 102, 124, 127
- Schlegel, F., 19
- Schleiermacher, 80
- Scott, W., 7, 9, 74, 75
- Shakespeare, 22
- Shelley, 7, 34, 39, 40, 70, 73, 94-
99, 106
- Soane, Geo., 33, 92, 93
- Southey, 52, 111
- Staël, De, Madame, 15, 16, 23, 26-
32, 34, 40, 76, 77, 106
- Stapfer, 106
- St. Aulaire, 106
- Swanwick, Miss, 108-111, 131-
135
- Syme, David, 114, 115, 116
- Talbot, Robert, 124-125, 127
- Taylor, Bayard, 84, 106, 110, 132,
133, 135
- Taylor, Wm. of Norwich, 6, 11,
12, 25, 27
- Thomson, 2
- Tieck, 106
- Tytler, A. F., 11, 89, 90
- Voss, J. H., 65
- Wagner, R., 86
- Wieland, 1, 2, 15, 69, 80, 105, 112
- Wordsworth, 52, 111

THE COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY PRESS

Columbia University in the City of New York



The Press was incorporated June 8, 1893, to promote the publication of the results of original research. It is a private corporation, related directly to Columbia University by the provisions that its Trustees shall be officers of the University and that the President of Columbia University shall be President of the Press.

The publications of the Columbia University Press include works on Biography, History, Economics, Education, Philosophy, Linguistics, and Literature, and the following series :

Columbia University Biological Series.

Columbia University Studies in Classical Philology.

Columbia University Studies in Comparative Literature.

Columbia University Studies in English.

Columbia University Geological Series.

Columbia University Germanic Studies.

Columbia University Indo-Iranian Series.

Columbia University Contributions to Oriental History and Philology.

Columbia University Oriental Studies.

Columbia University Studies in Romance Philology and Literature.

Blumenthal Lectures.

Hewitt Lectures.

Carpentier Lectures.

Jesup Lectures.

Catalogues will be sent free on application.

THE MACMILLAN COMPANY, Agents

64-66 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY GERMANIC STUDIES

Edited by WILLIAM H. CARPENTER AND CALVIN THOMAS

Vol. I

- No. 1. SCANDINAVIAN INFLUENCE ON SOUTHERN LOWLAND SCOTCH. A Contribution to the Study of the Linguistic Relations of English and Scandinavian. By GEORGE TOBIAS FLOM, Ph.D. 8vo, paper, pp. xv + 82. Price, \$1.00 net.
- No. 2. OSSIAN IN GERMANY. Bibliography. General Survey. Ossian's Influence on Klopstock and the Bards. By RUDOLF TOMBO, JR., Ph.D. 8vo, paper, pp. iv + 157. Price, \$1.00 net.
- No. 3. THE INFLUENCE OF OLD NORSE LITERATURE UPON ENGLISH LITERATURE. By CONRAD HJALMÄR NORDBY. 8vo, paper, pp. xi + 78. Price, \$1.00 net.
- No. 4. THE INFLUENCE OF INDIA AND PERSIA ON THE POETRY OF GERMANY. By ARTHUR F. J. REMY, Ph.D. 8vo, paper, pp. xi + 81. Price, \$1.00 net.

Vol. II

- No. 1. LAURENCE STERNE IN GERMANY. A Contribution to the Study of the Literary Relations of England and Germany in the Eighteenth Century. By HARVEY WATERMAN THAYER, Ph.D. 8vo, paper, pp. v + 198. Price, \$1.00 net.
- No. 2. TYPES OF WELTSCHMERZ IN GERMAN POETRY. By WILHELM ALFRED BRAUN, Ph.D. 8vo, paper, pp. v + 91. Price, \$1.00 net.
- No. 3. EDWARD YOUNG IN GERMANY. Historical Surveys. Influence upon German Literature. Bibliography. By JOHN LOUIS KIND, Ph.D. 8vo, paper, pp. xiv + 180. Price, \$1.00 net.

Vol. III

- No. 1. HEBBEL'S NIBELUNGEN. Its Sources, Method, and Style. By ANNINA PERIAM, Ph.D. 8vo, paper, pp. xiv + 219. Price, \$1.00 net.
- No. 2. THE NATURE SENSE IN THE WRITINGS OF LUDWIG TIECK. By GEORGE HENRY DANTON, Ph.D. 8vo, paper, pp. v + 98. Price, \$1.00 net.
- No. 3. BAYARD TAYLOR'S TRANSLATION OF GOETHE'S FAUST. By JULIANA HASKELL, Ph.D. 8vo, paper, pp. xi + 110. Price, \$1.00 net.

THE COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY PRESS

The Macmillan Company, Agents, 64-66 Fifth Avenue
New York

Hauhart, W. F.		PT
AUTHOR		1935
The reception of Goethe's		.E5
TITLE		H3
Faust in England.		
DATE	BORROWER'S NAME	ROOM NUMBER

Hauhart, W. F.	PT
The reception of Goethe's	1935 .
	.E5
Faust in England.	H3



